

GIROLAMO CARDANO

CARDANVS COMFORTE

LONDON 1576



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GIROLAMO CARDANO

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LONDON 1576

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CARDANVS
Comforte, translated
into Englishe.

AND PVBLISHED
by commaundement of the righte
Honourable the Earle of
Drenforde.

Newly persused, corrected, and augmented.

Anno Domini 1576.

*Imprinted at London in Fleete
streete neare to S. Dunstons
Churche by Thomas
Marsh.*

¶ Cum Privilegio.

TO THE RIGHTE
Honourable and my good Lord
the Earle of Orenford, Lorde great
Chamberlayne of Englande.



MY GOOD LORD, I can
geene nothinge more agreeable to
your minde, and my fortune then
the willinge performance of such
seruice as it shall please you to com-
maunde me vnto: And therefore
rather to obeye then boast of my cunninge, and as a
newe signe of myne olde deuotion, I doe present the
booke your Lordship so longe desired. With assu-
red hope that how so euer you mislike or allow ther
of, you will fauourably conceale myne imperfections
which to your Lordshippe alone I dare discouer, be-
cause most faithfully I honour and loue you. My long
discontinuance of study, or rather the lack of groun-
ded knowledge did many times discourage me, yet the
pleasure I tooke in the matter did counteruayle all
dispayre, and the rather by encouragement of youre
L^{ty} who (as you wel remember) vnwares to me founde
some part of this woorcke, and willed me in any wise
to proceede therein. My meaning was not to haue im-
parted my trauaile to any, but your honour hath po-
wer to countermaund myne intencion. Yet I moste
humbly beseech you either not to make any partakers
A2 thereof

thereof, or at the least wise those, who for reuerence to your L. or loue to mee, wyll willingly beare wyth myne errors. A nedelesse thinge I knowe it is to cōforte you, whom nature and fortune hath not onely not iniured, but rather vpon whom they haue bountifully bestowed their grace: notwithstandinge sith you delight to see others acquitted of cares, your L. shall not do amisse to reade some part of Cardanus counsell: wherein consideringe the manyfolde miseries of others, you may the rather esteeme your own happy estate wyth encrease of those noble and rare vertues which I know and reioyce to be in you. Sure I am it would haue better becomed me to haue takē this trauaile in some discourse of Armes (being your L. chiefe professiō & mine also) thē in Philosophers skill to haue thus busied my selfe: yet sith your pleasure was such, and your knowledge in either great, I do (as I will euer) most willingly obeye you. And if any eyther through skill or curiosity do find fault with mee, I trust notwithstanding for the respects aforesaide to be boulden excused. From my lodginge this first of Ianuarye. 1571.

Your L. alwayes to commaunde

Thomas Bedingfeld.

To my louinge frend Thomas

*Bedingsfeld Esquier, one of her Maies-
ties gentlemen Pensioners.*



*A*fter I had perused youre letters good
mayster Bedingsfeld, findinge in the your
request farre differinge from the desert of
your labour, I could not chose but gretly
doubte, whether it were better for mee to
yelde you youre desire, or execute myne
owne intention towards the publishinge of your Booke.
For I do confesse the affections that I haue alwayes borne
towards you coulde moue mee not a lyttle. But when I
had thoroughly considered in my minde of sondrye and di-
uers argumentes, whether it were best to obeye myne affec-
tions or the merites of your studyes: At the length I deter-
mined it better to denye your vnlawfull request, then to
graunt or condiscende to the concealement of so worthy a
worke. VVhereby as you haue bene profited in the transla-
tinge, so many may reape knowledge by the reading of the
same, that shall comfort the afflicted, cōfirme the doubtful,
encourage the cowarde, and lift vp the base minded man, to
atchieue to any true sume or grade of vertue, wher to ought
onely the noble thoughtes of men to be enclined. And be-
cause next to the sacred letters of Diuinity, nothing doth
perswade the same more then Philosophye, of which your
booke is plentifully stored: I thought my selfe to cōmit an
vnpardonable errour, to haue murdered the same in þ wast
bottomes of my chestes, and better I thought it were to dis-
please one, then to displease many: further considering so
little a trifle cannot procure so great a breach of our amity,
as may not with a little perswasion of reason be repayred a-
gaine. And herein I am forced like a good and politicke
Captaine, oftētimes to spoile & burne the corne of his own
cōtrey, least his enemyes thereof do take aduaūtage. For
rather then so many of your countrey men shoulde be de-
luded through my sinister meanes of your industry in stu-

dyes, (whereof you are bound in conscience to yelde the an
accōpt) I am content to make spoyle and hauocke of your
request, and that, that might haue wrought greatly in me in
this former respect, vtterly to be of no effect or operation:
and when you examine your selfe what doth auaille a masse
of goulde to be continually imprisoned in your bags, and
neuer to be employed to your vse : I do not doubt euen so
you thinke of your studies and delightfull Muses. V What
do they auayle, if you do not participate theym to others?
V Wherefore we haue this latine Prouerbe. *Scire tuū nihil est,
nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.* V What doth auaille the tree vnles
it yeld fruiēt vnto an other? what doth auaille the Vine vnles
an other delighteth in the Grape? V What doth auayle the
Rose vnlesse an other tooke pleasure in the smel? V Why
should this tree be accompted better thē that tree, but for ſ
goodnes of his fruiēt? V Why should this Vine bee better
thē that Vine, vnles it brought forth a better Grape then ſ
other? V Why should this Rose be better esteemed thē that
Rose, vnlesse in pleasantnes of smel it farre surpassed the o-
ther Rose? And so is it in al other things as well as in man.
V Why should this man, be more esteemed then that man,
but for his vertue, throughe whych euerye man desireth to
be accompted of. Then you amongest men I do not doubt,
but wyll aspyre to followe that vertuous pathe, to illuster
your selfe wyth the ornamentes of vertue . And in myne
opinion as it beautifyeth a fayre woman to be decked wyth
pearles and precious stones, so much more it ornifyeth a gē
tleman to be furnished in mynde wyth glitteringe vertues.
V Wherefore consideringe the small harme I do to you, the
great good I do to others, I prefer mine owne intention to
discouer your volume, before your request to secret ſ same:
V Wherein I may seeme to you to play the parte of the cun-
ninge and experte medeciner or Phisition, who although
his patient in the extremity of his burninge Feuer, is deli-
rous of colde licour or drincke to qualifye his fore thirst,
or rather kill his languishinge body: Yet for the daunger
hee doth euidently knowe by his science to ensue, denyeth
hym

hym the same. So you beyng sicke of to much doubt in your owne procedinges, through which infirmity you are desirous to burye and inseuill youre workes in the graue of obliuion : Yet I knowinge the discommodities that shall redounde to youre selfe thereby (and whych is more vnto your Coûtrey men) as one that is willinge to salue so great an incōuenience, am nothing dainty to deny your request. Againe we see if our frendes be deade, we cannot shewe or declare our affection more then by erecting them of Tom-
 bes : V Whereby when they be deade in deede, yet make we them liue as it were againe through theyr monument, but wyth me behold it happeneth farre better, for in your lyfe time I shall erect you such a monumēt, that as I saye youre life time you shall see howe noble a shadowe of youre ver-
 tuous life, shall hereafter remaine when you are deade and gone. And in your life time againe I say, I shall giue you that monument and remembraunce of your life, whereby I may declare my good will though the vvith your ill will as yet that I do beare you in youre life. Thus earnestly de-
 syringe you in this one request of mine (as I woulde yelde to you in a great many) not to repugne the settinge forth of your owne proper studies, I bid you farewell.

¶ From my newe countrey *Dales* at *V Viuenghole*, wy-
 shing you as you haue begunne, to proceede in these ver-
 tuous actions. For when all things shall els forsake vs,
 vertue yet will euer abide with vs, and when our bodies
 falles into the bowels of the earth, yet that shall mounte
 with our mindes into the highest *Heauens*.

*By youre louinge and assured
 frende. E. Oxenford.*

To the

The Earle of Oxenforde

to the Reader.

He labouring man, that tills the fertile soyle,
And reapes the haruest fruct, hath not in deede
The gaine but payne, and if for al hys toyle
He gets the strawe, the Lord will haue the seede.

The Mancer syne, falles not vnto his share
On courtest cheat, his hungrye stomacke feedes
The Landlord doth, possesse the synest fare,
He pulles the flowers, the other pluckes but weedes.

The Mason poore that buildes the Lordly halles
Dwelles not in them, they are for hys degree,
His Cottage is, compact in paper walles
And not with brycke, or stone as others be.

The idle Dzone, that labours not at all
Suckles by the sweete, of honny from the Bee
Who worketh most, to their share least doth fall,
Which due desert, reward will neuer be.

The swiftest Hare, vnto the Hastue slowe
Ofte times doth fall, to him as for a praye :

The Greyhounde thereby, doth misse his game we know
For which he made, such speedy hast away.

So he that takes, the payne to ponne the hooke
Reapes not the giftes, of goodly golden Huse
But those gayne that, who on the worke shal looke
And from the soure, the sweete by skill doth chuse.

For he that beates the bushe the byrde not gets,
But who sittes still, and holdeth fast the nets.

FINIS.

Thomas Churchyarde

in the behalfe of this Booke.

Y Du troubled mindes with tormentes tosse,
that sighes and sobs consumes:
(Who breathes and puffes from burninge breast,
both smotheringe smoke and fumes:)
Come reade this booke: that freely bringes, a boxe of balme full swete,
An oyle to noynt the brused partes, of euery heauy spiete.
A souplinge salue for euery soze, a medicine for the sicke,
A seede that eates by cankred fleshe, and searcheth neare the quicke.
Eche greife y growes by erroꝝ blinde (that makes mā's iudgement iar)
May here a precious plaster finde, eare cospe creepe to farre.
The blind that mournes for want of sight, could he but heare this red,
Would take his blindness in good part, and beare a quiet hed.
The lame whose lacke of legges is deatch, vnto a losly minde,
Wyll kisse his crotch and creepe on knees, *Cardanus* wooꝝkes to finde.
The begger bare bedeckt in bzats, and patched rotten rags,
In budget if he bare this booke, would scoone the roysters bags.
The shephearde that in skorching sunne, sits skowlinge on the faires,
Would leaue the wolfe his flocke of sheepe, to see this booke with eies.
The surly snodge that sweepes by golde, and makes his God theron,
Would sure cōfesse this pearle shold shine, whē glistering gold were gō.
The weyldest man oꝝ monster strange, whose natures naughtye are,
Would stand amasde as Bucke at baye, vpon this booke to stare.
This is no fable finely fil'de, as cutlar wooꝝkes the blade,
This is a substance of it selfe, this is no silly shade.
This speakes out of the brassen heade, full many a golden wooꝝde.
This strikes the sturdy stomaches dead, and yet it drawes no sword.
This threatens thonderboltes for fooles, yet weather fayze it showes,
To such as can beare of a storme, and calmy weather knowes.
This teacheth me to tune theyꝝ strygs, who wold swete musick make,
This showes who fapnes, oꝝ sweetely sings, & where the tune we take.
The pooꝝe y playnes on pinching plagues, by this doth stand content,
And yelding thankes for foode & cloth, takes well that God hath sent.
The rich whose raging reach would reape, the sweete of euery soyle,
Shall learne to singe a mery meane, and leaue the pooꝝe the spoyle.
The hye oꝝ haute hart shal here, a liuely lesson learne,
Howe wiscdome holdes himselfe byright, and halting heades decerne.
The lowe that lours at lousome lucke, and lingers out his time,
Shall see howe safe the simple sits, and how they fall that clyme.
The strong that strues to win the goale, by strength & stoutnes haine,
Shal shun the shouldeyng croked play, and walke the path full p'aine.
The

To the Reader.

The weakie whose wits to wees are wome (which breeds in beele be:
Shal laugh & giants strength to scorne, & praise the feeble state. (bare)
The sicke that seeks a hope sweete, for soure disease within,
Shall helpe the heapes of harmes in hart, ease blisser rise on skin.
The proud & poultes & pickes his plumes, & prunes his lethers gay,
Shal meekenes shoue and forthwith sling, his painted sheath away.
The prisoner that in fetters lyes, shal thinke his freedom moze,
In closed walles than at his scope, that he hath had before.
The banisht wight that beates his bzaines, with many busy bzoyles,
Shall see what gaine exile doth bzing, by sight of sundry soyles.
The seruauit that in seruage lyes, shall see he hath moze ease,
Than hath his master who of force, must many people please.
The fearefull man that hateth death, shall see that death is best,
And death is most to be desyde, where life can breed no rest.
The drunken dolt that doth delue, in fosse, in swashe, and swill,
Shall see some snib or soure rebuke, to bzeake him of his will.
The foole that all sound counsell hates, perhaps in reading this,
May waxe moze wyse and fondnes leaue, and so amende the mis.
The flatierer here may finde his faults, and fail to better frame,
The currishe carle may ciull be, in noting of the same.
The coward shall win courage great, as he this booke shall beue,
And he that is not shaped right, may here be made a newe.
The plowman that with sweat of browes, doth dearly win his bzed,
Shall see what daunger dwell they in, that are with dainties fed.
There is no state that beareth life, of hie or lowe degre,
But for the sickenes of his minde, a med sine here may see.
This booke bewzapes what wretched wzaaks, belongs to life of man,
What burthens boze he on his backe, since first this worlde began.
This is a glasse to gaze byon, where man himselfe may finde,
A shynig sunne that plainly shewes. A man is but his minde.
And who that reeds and marks a right, the reasons couched here,
Shall win such treasures by the same, as he shall hold full deere.
Passe on plaine booke of pearelesse price, and prece in worthe place,
Dread no disbarne of froward heads, nor feare the frowning face.
A worthe worke doth iustly craue, a worthe patrone still,
Whose noble bucklar shall defend, this worthe worke from ill.
And hee that made thee English speake, his tongue and penne be blest,
With happy hope of vertues hie, from heauen, here possesst.

FINIS.

George Gascoigne

To the reader of this Booke.

O salve a sore, with oynment, oyle, or balme,
Deserues (no doubt) reward and thanke alwayes.
With drogues or drames, to cure a sickely qualme,
Deserues (likewyse) a palme of perfect prayse:
But when mens mindes, (with mothes of secret mone)
Are fretted and frownt: When cankerwormes of care,
Consume the hart, tyll hope of health be gone,
Then comfort craues, both thanks and prayes rare.
For looke how much, the mynde of man surmountes,
Our bloud and bones, whych are (indeede) but drosse,
Somuch the wyse, that comfort most accomptes,
Whych helpes the hart whom tyringe troubles tosse.
Then let this woorkke, due thanks, and prayes finde.
Whose Text doth teach, true comfortes for the mynde.

Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.

OF COMFORTE, THE

fyfste Booke. I.



Amonge suche and so manye auncient monumentes as perished in *Barbarian* warres: would God (that at least *Marcus Tullius* booke of comforte, wyrtten at the deathe of his daughter, had bene tyll this day preserved. For as in al other matters hee declared hym selfe more then a mā so may it be thought that herein he had wyrttē most excellently: the matter be ing neither common, fained or touching others, but proceeding from his owne natural affection and extreme perturbation of mynde. And suche is the condition and qualite of comfortyng, as albeit no perswasion or eloquence were therein vbled, yet waiteth it not reason and sufficiente prooffe to trye it selfe: wherein so excellent, wyse, and eloquent a mā as *Marcus Tullius* hauing traualled it must be presumed, he framed a worke not onely worthe prayse, but also aboue all expectation.

And albeit these auncient warres haue amonge manye other noble workes depriued vs of so learned a booke, yet haue we thought mete to intreate thereof (not because it is so prayseable as amysse it cannot bee praysed) but also so necessary (as in all thinges which of necessity muste be had) better it is to haue the worst, then none at all. For example we see, that houses are needeful, such as can
A. not

The first boke of

not possesse þ̄ statelye pallaces of stone, do persua-
dethēselues to dwel in houses of timber and clay,
and wanting them, are contented to inhabite the
simple cotage, yea rather then not to be housed at
al, refuse not the poxe cabbon, and most beggerly
caue. So necessarpe is this giste of consolation,
as there lyueth no man, but that hathe cause to
embrace it. For in these things better it is to haue
any, then none at al. And wel we see ther is non
aloue that in euery respect may bee accōpted hap-
py: yea though mortal men were free from al ca-
lamities, yet the tormēts & fear of death should
stil offend them. But besides them, behold, what,
and how many euilles there bee, that vnlesse the
cloude of errour be remoued, impossible it is to see
the truth or receyue allay of our earthly woes.

Every mā hath
need of com-
forte.

Sorrow of
mynd furmōt
teth all other
griues

And aboue the greues that all other necessities
do bying with thē, this hath somewhat more gre-
ueous, and intollerable: for they satisfyed w̄the
that they desire, forthwith they cease to offend: as
honger is eased w̄th meate, thirst is appeased w̄
drinke, labour contented with rest. But the me-
mory, of euilles is so settled and manifold, as wā-
ting good persuation doth neuer cease to tormēte
þ̄ minde, but frō on discontented imagination to
another, frome one calamitye or miserie to
another, continually leadeth on oure displeasinge
thoughtes. And for þ̄ cause we haue framed this
boke, which although it profiteth nothing to driue
away þ̄ cares & anxiety of mind in others, yet shal
I therein not a litle cōtente my self, for which re-
spect chiefly I toke þ̄ matter in hād, And as men
saye

say, that *Aclepiodorus* wythout coloures did right cunninglye paint: so shal we boyd of al craft and skil, wyth true reaso declare how much each man erreth in life, iudgemente, opinion and wil. Bea, some thinges there are that so well do proue the selues, as besides nature nede no prose at al.

Of whiche kynd in this our vncertayn life, baine glory, and in nature of thinges great plenty was euer moze to bee founde and in all suche the moze cunninge & eloquence is vsed, the lesse we see oftentimes they receaue credite and beliefe. Who is so much misadvised as would paynt the pillers of perfitte marble or Dorserye? or who doth colour the vessels of Allabaster? When the natural glosse doth geue chieftest grace and reputatiō to þe worke, we playster and paynt the ragged walles of mortar and claye, to the ende that art should supplie, that nature hath lefte vnseemelye. Neyther do I think our worke herein so greate as at the beginning we thoughte to be. For albeit we know the number of miseries and cares to be many, yet diuers of them be of suche kynde as beyng wel considered do nede no medecine at all. As those whiche men willingly and unconstrayned do force the selues to beare: for who woulde take in hand to comfort *Marcus Regulus*, amidg his miseries? who neyther the pitie of his children, nor the praiers of his kinsfolks, coulde perswade to remain in *Rome* and not to retourn to the handes of the *Carthaginienes*. Of the same greatnes of mynde were the holy martirs *Paule*, *George*, *Laurence*, with almost innumerable others. Some other sort of paines

Voluntary
calmities
nede no comfort

Al.

and

and trauaile there are which the faintest harts do not refuse to abyde, eyther in respect of γ glory or gayne that groweth thereof. As some we see vncōpelled do serue Princes, others do labour to please their louers, some cōsume there time in studies, some follow trafficke, and some seeke aucthority and rule. So litle trouble they fynd in these trauailes, as being remoued from thē, they are greatly greened. Some led on with onely hope, do voluntarily take vpon them a lyfe with patience & trauaile to bee endured: as those that passe their daies in solitary places, as they that liue in citties continually, as they that obserue religiō straightlye, praying & fasting, who being asked for what ende they so do: answere, for hope that after death they shall receiue eternall felicitye. Some there are that take greate paynes and willingly suffer, in respect of sweetenes and delight (as they think) that is ioyned therevnto. As harueste labourers, who after long tēle and sweat in sommers sūne, do notwithstanding daunce when the pyper doth sounde. Others wyth cold feete doe leaue the fire to cast the dice: for though the cold do pynch, yet the pleasure of the play is more. But farre greater inconueniencies doe *Cupides* knightes wyth aduēture of lyfe abyde, and yet wyth all their hartes they hazarde al, that in the ende all their desires may be obtayned. Some there are that although they seeme euill eyther in respect of natures necessitye as olde age: or of comparisō. as breaking of prison, yet are they more patientlye borne: because befoze they came, they were desired, and beyng come

come may not therfore be vnwelcom. Wherfore if in particular I should entreat of euery of these, besides y^e no fruite should growe therof, I might also seme cōbersome & tedious. I do therfore think best to speake of those whiche men do condemne & flee as euill. Among whiche number somewhat I wyl say of the euilles abouesaid, for y^e one thing is not to euery mā a like pleasāt or discoūting, but of thē olde age semeth the chief, which though no calamity, but a gift of nature (& yet in som respect may be so called because we se it vnwillingly born of many: therefore *Cicero* hath therfore curiouslye wrotten & thought it cānot be iustly nōbryd amōg y^e euils of mā's life, yet of vs shal not be admitted.

We say therfore that among thinges we account euill, there be three sortes. That is to saye, Comon calamities, priuat calamities, simple and priuat calamities manifold: comon calamities we call those that happen to al men, or the greatest nōber of our acquaintance, as honger, pestilēce, subuersion of countreyes and such lyke. Priuat calamities simple, be of two sortes, the one discōmendable, as if a thief lamenteth that he loseth the opportunity for murder: or dishonest as the weeping of *Vrsus* in *Papinius*. The other honest and in no wise worthy greate discommendation: as the destruction of houses, y^e losse of children, & death of frēdes. Priuat calamities manifold we account those, whē a man by many mishaps at one instāt is molested: as y^e holy scripture telleth of *Iob*, who depriued of his house, childrē cattel, and substance, was also tormented with most pitiful diseases & sores.

Three sortes of calamities

The first boke of

Some men do hold for true opinion, that albeit, a mā may sustein one kinde of calamity, yet y^e sufferance of so sondry miseries is not to be found in any. wherfore of priuate & simple evils in general we wil fyrst take in hande to wypte, next we shal entreate of sorow and death eyther of our selues or nere frendes: In the seconde booke: and in the last we wil not omit to speake of tormente, bondage, imprisonment, exile, iniurye of olde age povertie & in general of many miseries assebled together. But fyrst let vs beginne at priuate evils, declareinge y^e the good or evil fortune importeth nothing to blessed life and y^e the fruit of al felicity (as Plato sayth) resteth in vertue, or as the Poet sayth.

V whose conscience guiltles is, doth not groove pale for feare.

And yet (as at y^e beginning I said) who so would consider how many discontentatiōs do happen & diligently marcke euery one of thē, should find to what smal purpose in aduersity a man tormenteth hymself considering how short, frayle, incertain, & miserable the life of man is. So as if at any time for y^e miserie it is to be lamented, then after y^e manner of *Heraclitus*, it is continually to be bewailed, & as *Palladius* sayth *Al weeping was I born al weeping must I dye: my wholle life in weeping hath ben consumed. O lamentable life of mā remainīg ou earth in sicknes, sorow, and continual miserie.* Therefore if at any tyme we must take leaue of lamentynge, then oughte the same eyther euer or neuer to be done, for life is eyther euer to be lamented or neuer.

Among other miseries what I pray you can bee greater then whē a man riseth frō bed in the morning, to be incertaine of his retourne to rest againe

good or euyl
fortune importeth
nothing
to felicity.

or being in bed, whether his life shal continue til he rise? besides that, what labour, what hazard & care, are men constrained to abide with these our brittle bodies, our feble force, and incertaine lyfe: so as of no nation I thinke a man better or more fytlye named, then of the *Spaniard* who in their language do terme a man, *shadow*. And sure ther is nothing to be found of lesse assurāce or soner passed then the life of man, no, nor y may more rightly be resembled to a shadow. Some tyme I consider wyth my selfe, & think (if the christian lawe wer therunto cōsenting) that y soules of some wicked deuills were entred into the bodies of men as tormentes for synnes, and so after death none other hell or punishmente to follow. So great is y masse of worldly miseries, as this life is eyther for wycked folke, or by some wycked god appointed. But whē I duly consider al, I leaue this cōmon oppinion as altogether vntreue: & perceaue that in this life there is nothing fōūd y may iustly be called good or euill, & do allow of those philosophers as wise, who thought that al things consisted in opinion. For what custome, what lawe, or what iudgemēt, is so certayn, as is not encoūtered with contrary opinions? and surely beleue me, y the philosophers wold not so lōg haue contended amōg themselves. if the matters of their contention had not rested onely in oppinion: what man is so mad as wil say the swan is black: or that the rauen is in couloure white, when y matter is otherwise to be iudged by cōmon sēce. But what is good or euill (O lord) how much speech, how great disputa-

All things
consist in opi-
nion.

The first boke of

tyon, and howe longe contention hath bene? The
blynd man seekes a mote. How can it be other the
dissencion, when the thing differeth from it self &
the philosophers do disagre amōg themselves, as
of that, that no where is to be found, and here-
bpō cometh to my memory a certain fable writtē
by an auncient poet, which doth liuely in my iud-
gement set forth mans lyfe, It is told that whē
myghty *Iupiter* had made the heauens, the earthe
the seas, the bestes, and men, he soberly conside-
red that vnlesse he allotted both punishemēt & re-
warde for mens deserts, it should so come to passe
as they would not onely approue al kind of disor-
der but also disdayne the goddes themselves, for
which consideration the great *Ioue* commaunded
Vulcan to frame two brasen tunners the one to re-
ceyue all that was good, the other to cōtayn the
euil, and made both good & euil thynges winged,
to thende they myght moze fytlye be sent among
mortal men, according to the qualty of theyr de-
sertes. But *Pandora* being a busy goddesse & gre-
die to loke into y^e vessels did open them. & sodēly
both the good & the euill brake forth & flew their
wayes, the good houered vp to heauen, the euill
made speede to y^e hel, & in the barcl of euill remai-
ned onely hope: & in the vessell of good, was found
suspition, as that wherw they were maintayn-
d, which newes whē *Iupiter* hard (as he is an angry
god) toke the empty vessels, and in a rage threwe
them down, which mortal men seing, desirous of
newes dzeu neare & embraced the empty barels
some of the good, and some of the euill: But they
that

that laied hold of the empty tonnes did neuertheless persuade theselues to haue gotten both good and euil, and yet indeede neither good nor euil fell to any mortall mā, sauyng that they y^e happened vpon the better baryl found in theselues opiniō of good with suspiciō, & the other, opiniō of euil wth some hope. And so it came to passe, not vnlke as when men in darke nyghts walking in *Arabia*, do happely treade vpon some piece of yron or other cold thing, are sodenly affrighted wyth feare least they haue hapned vpon a venemous serpēte, & yet haue not: euen so the onely suspiciō of good and euil is that, that perpleth all mortal creatures, because al that is good is ascēded to heauen, and al that is euil, gone doune to the infernall spytes. And therefore euer synce y^e great *Iupiter* hath disdained to take accōpt of mortal mē's deseruings. Truly although this be a fayned fable, yet doth it as well declare the originall both of good and euil, as if it had bene set forth in the learned scholes.

But as these earthly ioyes are vain and instable, so in the world to come al things are certain, assured, & euerlastinge whether through sufferance of these afflictions which we cal euilles, y^e godly loue doth cal vs: according to y^e saying of the Prophet, because thou were accepted by god, it was expedient y^e temptation shoulde trye the: for y^e almighty God not vnlke a father that entierly loueth his child: en doth bynge them vp in al continence & sober lyfe restraining their pleasures not sufferig them without chastilment to exercise any euil or vngodly lyfe. And contrary wyse such as he este-

meth

The first booke of

meth not, and that line lyke children destened to perdition, without regard he doth suffer to pursue their drunken & dissolute maner of liuinge. Shal we therefore say the life of such seruantes is more happy, or more to be wished for the those sonnes? for none are admitted to heauely ioyes, but those that in all good lyfe and perfection do deserue the same: for as gold is tryed in the forname, so the life of a iust man by aduersity in this world is tryed. And yet if al either good or euil should be compared to y^e heauely hope, yt wer no more the one graine to a whole heap. *S^{Paul}* therefore said y^e al whiche we suffer in this world was not meritorious enough to gain the glory of y^e world to come? who so euer then that symelye embraceth thys saythe, should he not in aduersity reioyce & in prosperity lament? & amiddes his miseries persuade himselfe that god doth make tryall of his fayth, after trial to cal hym among the number of his chosed? If in getting worldly glory thou dost so much reioyce, y^e reward therof being smal, the cōtinuance short and mortall, what should we do for this heauely glory, which is everlasting, great & assured? So great is this comforte, y^e if ther were not manye y^e swarued in faith, y^e holy office of cōforting wer already synished? who would not chaūge this short lyfe, wyth that life euerlasting? this frail wyth y^e firm? this unhappye wth that most happy, this troublesome, wyth that most quiet? but in wāt of belefe is sinne, & in sinne is want of belefe: whereby the condicion of man is berefte, both of hope and saythe. for what canne be vnto man eyther more profitable after deathe or more to be wished
in

in this life, then the hope of the life to come? And though y^e same were not, yet ought a mā no whit to be discouraged, because ther is almost no miserye so great but may be conuerted to better hap. Neither is there amōg moztal men any opiniō so assured as that nothing is sure. For as aduersity and misfortune hath bene to some men a waye to good chaunce, so hath prosperitie bene to others the occasion of misery. But it is not our determination to discourse hereof, though by oftē profe, it is to be tryed. Our care onely is to entreat of calamityes: for if I should wyte of all suche as misfortune hath aduanced, this boke could scantlye contayne thē. Neither do I beleue y^e holy Scripture to meane other by the history of *Iob*, thē thereby in one example to shew the varietie of fortune: which y^e *Gentiles* by diuers examples were taught to beleue. For *Iob* being first happy, hauing health, childrē, aboundance, land, possession, & cattel, was bereft of al his worldly goods, & such as in prosperity were his greatēste frendes, became in aduersitye his most cruel foes, yet after wardes in more aboundance then before, he receiued the goodnes and liberality of fortune. Suche and so many be the occasions both of good and euil fortune, as nothing is more incertayne.

The seruitude of *Scutidius* was cause that after he became Consul and gayned great glory, which he without decay of the Romaine fortune could neuer haue loked for. But by hīs bondage he had occasion to shew his vertue, which was the waye to felicitye. The profe therof is dayly senee amōg
thi

Aduersity
some tyme the
mean of good
happe.

The first booke of

the barbarouse nations, as y^e *Turkes*, & those people which were called *Mamaluchi*. Among mortal creatures what can be more intollerable thē sickness? yet did the same greatly profite the Emperour *Augustus* beyng in armes agaynst *Brutus*.

For he warned by his phisicion to remoue from his pauillion by sleape he recouered health, which yf for other respect he had done, the same had ben to his great dishonour, or if he had abiddē, he had bene slayne or forced to flee. *Plotinus* a philosopher of *Platoes* secte, had amonge others a scholler named *Oruncius Marcellus* who was greatly diseased wth the goutte & palsey, through diligent hearing his master (who disputed & red wth great sweetness and facilitie) he forgot often tymes to eate and so wth attentue hearynge became a singular philosopher, and, wth much abstinence recouered his health. So through sickness he gaped both learninge and good recovery.

The euil disposition of the bodye doth oftētimes profite the vertue of mynde, for sickness maketh the surfiter to become of good diet, y^e proud more courteous, y^e wicked religious, yea otherwhiles it profiteth the body also, for more mē of sickly body then health do attaine to olde age. Such is the chaunge of worldlye thinges. For as within the taylor of a Stagge lyeth moste presente poyson, and all the reste of his bodye is holsome fleshe: So the Serpent *Tyrus* whose venom is incurable, hath fleshe so holsome, as it is medicinable agaynst al other poysons.

Paulus Tertius though hee was learned and not vnlyke

Cardanus Comfort

Unlike to aspyre to the papacie, yet the oppynion of his olde age, and sickelye bodye did greatelye enforce to his aduancement. The greate aduersity of *Spartacus* condemned to dye in combat, Was the occasion he became glorious, & whyle he lyued to the Romaines terrible. When the memozye of many kinges is woꝛne away. Among the rest of such commodities as aduersitye byingeth withal, this benefyte it hath, that a mauns misfortunate dayes once paste, hee lyueth the rest of hys lyfe woth greater delight. Who esteimeth his healt he that hath not tasted of sickenesse? Who knoweth the sweetenes of his coutry, that neuer hath bene banished? Or who can bee happy or take pleasure in riches, that neuer hath liued in pouertye? Or whye doe childish olde men take greatest ioye in children? But because they haue bene long barren. We reade that *Agessilaus* kyng of the *Lacedaemonians*, was a wise and seuerer man, yet in hys age hee so muche loued children, as hee seemed to dote. As salte geneth sauour to meate, so aduersitye be past, maketh lyfe more pleasaunt, & the more if it bynot longe. And so we see *Virgilius* verue wel induceth the example of *Aeneas* comfortyng his felowes, sayinge,

Past aduersity
maketh life
pleasunt.

O mates (quod he) that many a yere, haue bid and borne or this,
 Worse haue yve seene, and this also shal ende when Gods wil is.
 Through Scylla rage you vnot and through the roving rockes yve past,¹
 Though Cyclops shore vvere full of feare, yet came yve through at lust.
 Pluck vp your harts and drue from thence, both dreede and feare away
 To thinke on this may pleasure be, perhappes another daye.

Amonge

The first booke of

Amonge the reste of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, his order of life and procedig, what was moze to his auayle, then the banishmente from his countrey: whē his goods was solde, his house subuerted & he hymselfe confyned only. then hee learned howe welcome he was to the Cityzens howe necessary to his country, howe deare to his frends, and (had he modestly vsed his glozy) nothing that euer hapened to him in life was moze to his reputation: for after his reuokeimēt, he became moze glozious then befoze. And in al misfortunes of mans lyfe this reason is of no small importance that necessitye dyueth vs to comfort our selues: as whether we patiently oz with impacience bear our aduersityes, yet needely in the end we must beare them.

Neither is sorrow oz sadness to other end, then to encrease care, and make our myndes moze vnmete to receiue good counsell: and thereby bothe hope and helpe are clearly taken away, and what good, oz allay of grefe can continual teares oz desperation procure: Truly syth in thy power it is to aggrauate oz decrease thyne own care, it is the part of a wise and wel aduised man to disburden himself of sorrow, and with paciēt mind to beare all aduersitye, calling to memory,

Agilt lesse mynde, all sclauanders do disdayne

Alas, what shall thy languishinge life auayle the oz what can thy pensiue thoughtes preuail? It hath ben sene oftentimes that paciēce oz sufferāce of aduersitye hath helped valiaunte men, for wee
soonest

senest take pittie of those þ̄ couragiously do suffer misery, and presume moze of their innocencie and vertue, then of those that impatiently inlike fortune abandon all courage of minde. *Agis* the *Lacedemonian* kinge, beyng by certayne officers of aucthority condemned to dy, was drawen with a corde towards þ̄ place of executiō: it happened he espyed a seruaunte of his standing by weping. to whom he sayd these wordes. I pray thee my frend forbear to lament my deathe, for beyng vnjustly condemned to dye, I am become moze woorthy lyfe, then they that enforce me to it. And hauing spoken thus, willingly strangled hymself.

We read also that a noble mynde doth moue mē to cōpassiō. When *Scenola* had determined to kyl the kyng *Porfenna*, for his ballant & voluntary cōfession receiued pardon which if he had not done but with denial craued mercy, besides dishonour he shoulde haue suffered most cruell death. *Lucius* taken for *M. Brutus*, *Seruius Terentius*, for *D. Bru.* & fallng into *Antonius* handes gayned both pardō and the frendship of their enemyes, moze thzough nobility of mind then submissiō. What nede moze wordes? patience in captiuitie, & magnanimity in aduerse fortune haue euer bene prayled and helped most. And thus in conclusion I say, that seing the guilty cōscience doth onely make a mā vnhappy, he is to euil aduised that yeldeth his mynde to misfortune when wholly he myght remaine in libertye. A man is nothyng but his mynde: if the mind be discontented þ̄ mā is al disquiet though all the rest be wel, and if the mynde be contented though

Valency of
mynde do moue
cōpassiō.

A man is no-
thing, but his
mynde.

The first booke of

though al the rest misdoe ,it forceth litile . I remember a certayn ryche man growing mad,snatched at his straw and complained that he should dye for Hunger because there was no Coyne within the empty eares ,did not (I pray you) his discontented mynde onely make hym vnhappye?

An other one there was that ymagined himself to be made of glasse and euer feared to be broke: was not this good foole without all miserye the most miserable man aliuie ? But some there bee that through imperfection of mynde or errour are causers of there owne euill,who ought therefore wyth more patience to beare it .As children who though they bite their own hāds neuer so much, do not complain,yet if neuer so little they be hurt by others ,do cry out. But it were vnfyf for vs to follow the manner of chyldren & vnsemelpe to be more foolishhe and of lyke courage then they. What can be more soude then a man to hurt himselfe and then complayne,better it were to follow the counsayll of the Poet.

Thyne ovne deserued vvoes beare thou vvith patient mynde ,
Such paynes are born vvith greatestt grief,as cauilies me do finde.

What can be sayde more deservynge to chaunce vnto vs, then that,whereof wee through follye, feare, haſt (or which is woꝛst of all) disorder, geue occasion of our owne grieſe .n2 by woulde they complayne ſich there is none other cauſe of their ſorrow agaynſt whom ſeing thou art thine own foe: vpon whom woulde thou be reuenged: even thyne

Men causers of
ther owne-
uelles

thyne owne selfe. Who so doth marke it wel, shall fynd that for the most parte we are causes of oure owne euil. And though it is playnlye declared in y^e booke *De Arcanis aternitatis*, yet being here requisite we wil agayn speake thereof. And yet were y^e same nedelesse, if men were not so far in loue with themselves. For euerye one bee hee neuer so simple, perswadeth himselfe to knowe moste, imputinge the good successe of thynges to theyr owne wysedome, and the euil to the defaulte of fortune. Neither doth it suffice them to accuse the follie of fortune, but also fynde fault with some euill spirite, & larkynge deuil. In which erroz, princes do more often fal then others, not onely because they are partakers of all kynd of imperfections, but also for y^e their eares are alwayes open to all sortes of parasites and flatterers, who make theym belene they want no vertue, wysedome or other perfection y^e man or god can be endued wyth. And these faire spoken people do study nothing more then to practise that princes maye knowe nothinge, for otherwyse they would not entertayne suche *Gnatoes* as they bee. How much more comely were it in mortall men, to impute all good successe to God (or yf they thought not so good) to fortune: and all euil successe to their lewdnesse, vilety, and lacke of iudgemēt. But wouldest thou know why thou art a toole? because thou doest accompt thy selfe wyse.

Socrates who by sentence of *Appolloes* oracle was iudged the wyfist, confessed himselfe to know but one thing, and that was, he knewe nothing. But thou that in dede knowest nothing at al, wil wo-

The second boke of

manlike take vpon the to speak of *Mazageta India*, and rather then sayle, of thinges aboue the skyes.

Protolomus the noble astronomer was wont to say that a mā y pleased himself was hated of god, and he pleaseth himselfe that imagineth hymselfe wyse or prouident, and imputeth all to his owne glozy and profyt. Suche kynd of people be y most part of mortal men, and th' rior subject to so many euils and misfortunes. But now we haue a little digressed frō our determined purpose: because we should rather haue proued then disproued that men be causers of there owne euil. And if we respect all sortes of euils, the matter wil so fal out. What tyrant is so terrible, as persecuteth the symple and innocente soules? who is so vnskilfull an artificane as can not earne hys owne lyuing, what man so cruel as murdereth the humble and wyse people? for it is the part of a wise mā to obserue y time, the persons, & their aucthority amōg whō we liue. *Nero* was a cruel Emperoz yet in his time *Vespasianus* did not onely liue vnoffended, but also bare office. So was *Tiberius* to his owne subiectes acropted leuere, yet *Thrasylus* y mathematician cōtinued in fauoure, & so did diuers grāmarians. But who so hapeneth to liue in the gouernmēt of these vnnmerciful monstres, the sureste way is to lucke & lyue vnknowē. A most assured rule it is y without a mā's own folly, he cānot become miserable. And although al other vertues were banished frō mē, yet wisdom should cuer retayn her place and reputation. As for iustice, fidelitv, liberalitv, and cunctise, are honored but as certain strang wandung bypodes

Wisdom the
best vertue.

byrdes: but fortitude moore often, because it encountereth wyth all kynd of perilles, and yet sometimes occasioneth rather hinderaunce then good fortune: yea learning it selfe, is nothinge but mockerye, and subiecte to all iniuries. But wisdom is an heauenly gift, and dwelleth among men in greate reputacion and reuerence

Wysedome I saye, is that whiche Kynge's doe seeke for, whych people haue in admiratyon, and on euery syde is necessarie. Therefore who so wanteth wisdom, hath none other cause to complayne.

As a mans health is diuers wayes emperched euen so ys wysedome: as wyth anger, pleasure, cowardyce, dulnesse, ambytyon, couetise, and finally euery vice of mynde offendeth wysedome in man. A Follie I do thinke to comforte those that through debility of mynde do cast themselves into misery: as foule delight, and desperate reuenges.

Some ther be who not vnlike to gudging, knowing the hoke lyeth hydden within y^e baite doth not withstanding, drawen on with greedines of Venus lofes, or such like fond delight, cast themselves into apparant misaduentures.

Then saye that the gudgin craftelye (and yet foolishlye) doth fyrste wyth her tayle beate the bayte from the hooke. but if that auayleth not, do feithfullye assaye to byte it. To what purpose shoulde a man w^{ch} suche perill playe the parasite, when other worse hee myghte safelye lyue? but wee moore wyttlesse then these brute Beastes doe not

The first boke of

abyde the beafyrng of the hurtfull baite . And yet
 what byt ternes doth this fozow bring wythal be-
 ing bred with fuch delightning pleasure yet happ-
 ly thou fay I would haue pleasure without paine.
 If this difficultie doth offende thee, then good fole
 thou feekest a thinge impossible to be attained: be-
 cause euery ioy is accompanied with his difcōmo-
 dity. Glozy is folloved with enuie, wifedome not
 gotten without labour, wealth is won with care,
 children are kept wyth trouble, banquetting is bac-
 ked with sicknes, ease bredeth pouerty, ambiciō be-
 getteth hate, auctozity hath folowing feare, quiet-
 nes engēdzyeth difdayn. So I pray you wherunto
 tendeth the ende of al mortal thinges? And this in
 allayinge of mens discontentations is most cōfoz-
 table, that euery man is afflicted w one misfortune
 oz other, oz as mē fay, each mā feeleth his own pri-
 uate offēce . Some are afflicted w pouerty, some
 with wāt of children, some with fyckeneg, some w
 feare, some wyth wzong, some with children, some
 with loues, some with craft, some with foes: and
 that which is greateft, & most to bee maruayled at
 (fuch is the condicion of man) to bee moſte happy &
 fubiecte to no grieve, is alfo a calamity. It is there-
 fore ſayd, that *Policrates* being lothed wyth abun-
 dante of fortune's grace, did greatly deſire to fele
 ſome offence, & therfore caſt into the ſea a ryng of
 meruailous pryſe, of purpoſe to haue ſome cauſe to
 complain. But fortune (as it ſemed) hauing ſworn
 his happynes in a fylly reſtored it agayne. But leſte
 I ſeeme altogether to perſwade w fables I praye
 you what pleaſure do princes take at their diners?
 when

Every pleaſur
 is accompanied
 wth his cor-
 tary.

Society of ple-
 ature is a cala-
 mitye.

When continual eatyng of delicate dishes haue taken away the tast of their mouthes. The physiti-
ons affirme that delicacye, is when a man frome
uply releste recouereth his perfect nature. Then I
pray you what iudgemente haue they in delicacie? &
neuer tasted any grosse or displeasante meate? Or
how can he be happy that neuer felt of grief? doest
thou not se how happy poze mē accounte them-
selues, whē they are inuited to ryche mens tables?
what is the cause? seying poze men haue no better
fare then the riche? surely nothyng but the nouelty
of the diet. Wherfore it is most assured that with-
out aduersity a man may not be happye, nor take
delight in myrth wyth out some sorowe. Then is
it not a comforte in these calamities, to haue not
onely one mā for a companiō, but also al mankind?
and as it is comunly sayd. *Confors est miseris has*

Miseries pro-
ce de from ne-
cessity.

But of how much more force shal thy comfort be,
knowing that miseries do not happen at al adue-
tures, but rather in respecte of felicity: and that y
greatenes of euill is accompanied wyth the great-
nes of good. And to begynne in generall: there is
nothing more noble then a commō weale wel go-
uerned: yet what can be more hard, then to lyue
there? at the beginnyng suche a one was the Ro-
maine gouernement, and by that mean conquered
the whole woylde. But what can bee more hardlye
born, then a lyfe vnder such lawes, when subiects
are exercised onely in labour, constrained to mary-
age, education of childzen, and chieflie to followe
warres? and amonge these thinges that laboure

In best commō
weales, hardest
life.

The firste boke of

whych husbandmen do vse , seemeth to our eares most intollerable . The bynyng bp of childeꝛ (& specially many) to a poze man , seemeth to surpasse al sorowes , for as a fewe childeꝛ are great deligh-tes , so many to a poze man is cause of the greatest care that can happen .

What can for trauaile and perill bee compared to the warres? where men do labour, dygginge , & deluing, sleapinge in the wynters' snow, and marching in the sommers sonne, watching and war-yinge daye and night, clyming the mountaynes & sayling the seas: sometymes afflicted with hūgar, sometimes wyth thyrste: yea in the ende, eyther to kyll or to bee killed. So as no maruayle it is, to see how willingly souldiars do behold the displai- ed ensygues and receyue knowledgē of battail, when eyther by happy victoꝝy they shalbe dischar- ged of trauaile or by death receyue ende of payn- full lyfe . The *Lacedemonians* therefore led so hard a lyfe at home, as it neuer greued them to serue a- broad in the warres. Then is it manifest ꝑ in a cō- mon weale wel gouerned, men be most vnhappye & happpest bee those Citizens, that liue in mooste disoꝝderly countreyes. And kynges (whom men be- guyled wyth fa'le ymagination do thinke equal to gods) are also folowed wyth thēre afflictions. As fynely the tragicall poetes haue fayned the trage- dies and furies to be onely in kinges courtes, & the cōmodies & pleasāt playes in priuate houses. The pa'llaces of Princes are euer opē to great euilles, neither are these mōsters at any time frō thēce: as enuye, hate, grudge, poyso, and persecution, Bea ꝑ
princes

Kinges are sub-
iect to calamity.
tc.

prynces mind is the seate of al these, whereby it is
 neyther suffered to slepe quietly by nyghte, nor rest
 by day. Nowe assayleth hym the memoꝝ of wea-
 kednes, nowe the suspition of familiars, nowe the
 mystrust of people, nowe fear of other prynces, with
 care day and night to pꝛeuent their practises. But
 be it, the pꝛince, be neuer so iust, neuer so holy: yet
 feare and suspicion doth neuer wante, and as the
 poet faineth of *Ixion* and *Lapithis*,

VVhom ouer hanges a stone that enermore doth seme to fall.

*The bride beds faire are spred, and goldē carpets shyne ful bright
 And precious princely fare, before, thier face is set in sight.
 Then coms the foulest seend, and al their dainties ouerbrodes
 Forbidding thē to touche, and frō their hāds do snatch the foodes
 and, beates with burning brandes*

Such is the estate and condicion of courtes, as
Virgilius liuing in the happy house of *Augustus* was
 wel acquapnted with all. But let vs a whyle omit
 to speake of prynces, and turn our talke to priuate
 persons. I cannot wyth care or dyligence fynde
 any that in euery respect can accompt himseife fre
 from misfortune, suche a one I thinke as hardelye
 founde, as are those beastes called *Rhinocerotes*, of
 whiche kynde *Plinius* confessed he could neuer find
 any, though lōg tyme he hunted through the who-
 le worlde.

Therefore seyng al moztall men be subiect to some
 kynd of misfortune: who arte thou that seekest to
 lyue free from the law whiche al others are subiect
 vnto? why doste thou not complayne, that thou
 art not made immortal, wynged, and kyng of the
 whole world, free from all misfortunes?

Wiii

But

The second booke of

But if thou canne beare that lacke whiche nature could not help, why shouldst thou not also be content wyth the other which is no lesse vniuersall? & according to the fable, think thy calamities þ lesse, that thou seest the aduersities of other to be greater. When saye that in olde tyme, the hares beyng caste into desperation, for that of al other beastes they were most persecuted, consulted together and determined to drowne themselves in the next ryuer: being assembled, on they went to execute their determination, the frogs that happened to be by the banke, hearynge the hares comminge for feare cast themselves into the water whiche noyse whē the hares hard, they studied to know the cause, & fynding that for feare of them the frogs wer fled, chaunged their intent: because the frogs more unhappy than they, sought not withstandinge to preserve their lyues: and by that meanes þ hares haue tyll thys day bene preserved. Surely the aduersity of others, did neuer make my miseries seme þ lesse but the necessity of euyll whiche is known by other mens misadventures, hath geuen mee greate allay of my priuate greeues. For when a man shal truly consider hys mishappes to procede of natures necessity, and not iniuriouslye, then wyl hee yelde hymselfe to suffer al vnlesse that altogether hee be voyde of iudgement, symple and foolyshe. A wyse man therefore forseyng the necessity of many miseries, and wel remembryng, the frailty and instability of euery condition of mankynde, doth patiently loke for al sorts of misadventures, and whē they come, it is therfore mete he shew hymselfe armed

med with fortitude, least changed by reasoⁿ of their
 comming he may seme to forsake his honest deter-
 minatic^o or els be vnprovided. It is also to be co-
 sidered t^hat tyme is a medicine to all sorrows, y^t
 taketh away mourning, it bryedeth forgetfulnes of
 iniuries, y^t remoueth y^e memozy of misaduēcures
 and finally byngeth forgetfulnes and discorde of
 al sortes of calamities. What man hath beene so
 impacient in fatherly affection, as doth take care
 for the death of his son, thyrty yeaeres synce Depar-
 ted? or his goodes lost so long agoe? Such is the
 condicioⁿ of tyme, as fyrst it deminisheth some part
 of extream sorrowe or ioy, nert it weareth a waye
 al feruency of affection and lastly doth clearly rote
 it out of memozy. Therefore syth y^e couetice of tyme
 doth in the most synple worke this effecte, whye
 shouldest not thou do the same to thy selfe: and loke
 what benefyte tyme in short space should giue the,
 the same may thou through fortitude, learning,
 modesty, & good erample geue vnto thy selfe. Per-
 swade thy selfe, y^e thy displeasāt dayes be near pas-
 sed, & hope y^e better hap is at hand. Cal to memozye
 how many worthy mē haue vnderseuingly & cruel-
 ly by fortune bene caste doune, & patiently suffere de-
 her most extreme disgrace. There is nothinge more
 requisite in a wyse mā then modesty to suffer both
 fortunes. For who so knoweth not how to do in
 prosperite, forgetteth he is mortal and y^e behaueth
 himself not wel in aduersity thinks himself no mā.
 there is no greater argument of wysedome, then
 when a man doth that presently which others by
 benefyte of tyme haue learned. Be not therefore
 but

Time a medi-
 cine for al sor-
 rowes.

The firste booke

burdenouse to thy selfe & though thou art chaūsed into this shadow of calamity yet cast not thy selfe down into very misfortune, Think assuredly that some be free from euery euill, and y^e tyme byngeth with al the most certayne and sure consolation .

Not that wee haue already spoken of, but that whiche *Auerrois* & other philosophers haue writtē.

When soberlye thou consider that the lyfe of manne compared to the eternall worlde, is not a moment, and in that short time al to be vayne, incertayne and by assured lawe of nature shorte, so as it maketh no matter at all, what a one thou haste beene or shalt bee . And when woth my selfe I ymagine of this matter, I remember that whiche in booke of common fables wee reade, where some are sayned ryche men, some mightye Kynges, and some so stronge, as for strength surpassed *Hercules*, what difference there shoulde bee betwixt these sayned men and *Cesar* or *Pompey*, tyll thys day I coulde neuer learne, vnlesse that eyther for oure learninge an hystoꝛye is made dyfferent from a fable, or that we haue consideration of soules that liue for euer .

For otherwyse when thou shalt no moze bee, it skilleth not at al what thou hast bene . Onelye follie of man hath founde out this inuention that we should perswade our selues to be happie or vnhappy, not onely in this worlde, but also after in y^e opinion of others.

Some I see mooste carefull that after death they may leaue behynde them riches or fame.

And entised woth such desire *Herostratus* burned

Frame a thing
altogether
vayne

ned the Temple of *Diana*, that thereby (though
for wicked doinge) hee might gaine eternal fame.

But who was this *Herostatus*? by what father
begotten? or of what mother was hee bozne? In
what countrey diide hee dwell? what was hys
person, or which wayes did he lyue? what doe we
know hereby, other, then either to know nothing
or a fayned man? And admitte thou gayne
thys desyred glorie? what shal it auayle thee af-
ter thre hundred yeares whether thou were hap-
py or vnhappy?

And if no gloire bee within fiftye yeares after
deathe, what difference shalbee betwixte a kinge
and a Carle: betwixte *Lucullus* and *Irus*, betwixte
Xenophon and *Cleon*, betwixte slaues and freemen,
betwixt happy and vnhappy. But leaste per-
happes thou lyue in doubt that tyme doth styll a
byde, and the course of heauens be stayed, or that
the lyfe of man doth not of necessity and speede-
lye decaye, beholde that one stone wherein was
graued thre faces, a Childe, a Mans and an
Olde mans. So sodayne are the chaunges &
so neare as the Deet doth not vnseetly cal our age,
Fleeing. Consyder what number of yeares synce
the beginning of the worlde, and thyne age haue
passed, so shalt thou learne, that no shadow more
swyftly fadeth away.

Imagine assuredlye that al tyme were passed,
and so shall perceiue that all wyll retourne to no-
thyng. Not vnlyke to them that with cer-
tayne Hope of deliuerie remaine in Prison,
whoe though in mysfortune, yet doe not lyttle
lamente

The seconde booke

lament, chiefly if they bee of valiaunt mynde. So men in this troublefome lyfe, fyth they loke for, & abyde one equality in respect of death, I cannot conceiue why happy folke shoulde not be more sorrowfull then those that be unhappy.

For if euen now it were proclaymed as it was in y^e tyme of *Lycurgus* that al lands & goods shoulde equally among al sortes of men bee deuided, whether doeste thou thinke that beggers or rich men, woulde bee moste sorre? Surely I think no man thinketh the ryche man would reioyce, and the poorer sort be sorre. If therfore y^e law of lyfe is so equallie made as there is non that canne auoyde, I see no cause but that euery man here liuing in misery, ought willingly to embrace the benefite of so iuste a decree. What care I praye thee shalt thou haue two hundred yeares hence, whether thou died hauinge children or childelesse? olde or yong, ryche or poore, a bond man or free, in the bed or on the gallowes, or whether in auctority, or without honoz thou liued or dyed? But follye hath broughte in these oppynions, by which we onely become happy or unhappy. Because follye enduceth forgetfulness of reason: it maketh *Pigmeans* to seeme Gyantes: sometimes our euilles, sometimes our good it cloketh, it multiplyeth it maketh them obscure, it cloketh it, encreaseeth, darckneth, hideth, euē as it pleaseth of vs determineth. But if in this lyfe there be any thing good or euill: or any differēce of pleasure or sadnesse, the same resteth only in conscience and vertue of the mynde. For the memoire of wicked and sinfull doinges exceedeth all other tormentes.

The

The hart of the wicked (as sayth the prophet) foameth lyke the swellinge seas: and theire myndes are euer vexed with fearefull visions: because ther is no greater affliction thē whē their gilty thoughtes do continually accuse their consciences , as the poet sayth.

*Whose mynde most gilty is , and harboreth cruel thought
A secret scourge within hīself , such sinful dedes haue wrought.
And paines more great he tastes , whō whip of cōscience beates,
Then did Seditius euer fele , or Radamantus freates.
Within the breast to beare , thy grieve both night and day,
Then hast at hand , that plainely will thy hidden woes bewray*

OF COMFORTE

The seconde booke



Because in the former booke wee haue
discourſed copiouſlye, (as coulde bee
generallye) of the comfortinge of all
miſeries, the conſideration of euerye
ſeuerall euil, ſemed ſcātly neceſſary: ſeing
ryght reaſon, wyſe counſel, & then our talke might
ſuffice to remoue all ſadnes out of the mynde of e-
uerye wyſe man, but for that it was our purpoſe
at the beginning, to conſider wythoute affection,
and wyth ryghte iudgemente to ſpeake diligētilye
of euerye aduerſitye that may hap pen to men : it
ſeemed alſo moze neceſſarye, for vs to do the ſame,
becauſe ſome woulde thinke, thoſe thinges whiche
ſhould be let paſſe to be left vntouched of purpoſe,
rather becauſe they could not be proued, then be-
cauſe they were ſuperfluous. Moreouer this hiſ-
toyre of euilles hath both for variety and for exāple
no ſmall pleaſure, where wyth it may waſh away
from the readers, that ſpote of ſadnes whyche is
woont to be leſte of the ſenſible mynde, and alſo of
nature it ſelfe in greate miſhappes. For often-
times, though reaſon comforte vs, and teache vs
that neither mourning, is mete, neither that there
is any cauſe of mourning, yet the ſadde mynde of
it ſelfe can not bee merrye: whiche thinge where yt
happeneth

happeth not seldome without any aduersity at al,
how much more like is it to be left behind in them
that pine with long wearines, not withstandinge
the very wound to be cured.

Therefore that now we may retorne to our pur-
posed talke: of all thinges that happen in mannes
lyfe, sorrowe, and death, bee moſte bitter. Sorrowe and
death moſt bit-
ter For
to be bereft of the company of oure moſte dearely
beloued for euer, and withoute hope, is wonte to
ſeeme a moſt cruell thing vnto al man. And death
it ſelfe (as ſith the Philoſopher) of al terrible thin-
ges is moſt extreme, wherefore if any thing bee a-
ble to ſhake a valiaunt and wyſe man, doubtles
that ought to be the death of him ſelf and his moſt
neare frendes.

For whiche cauſe I perceiue excellent Poetes
to haue mourned both for theirs and themſelues
and alſo to haue ſained others mourning, for their
frendes. Among whom *Papinius* bewaileth his fa-
ther ſaying

*Gyue wit and wofull voyce, O Sire, let me my woes complayne,
For thriſt the mone hath hid her face, and thriſt come back again
Syth fiſt I ſet me downe, in ſloth and ſobbing cheare,
No muſe to comfort care.*

Another in the ſame cauſe

*What man can make a ſpring of teares, to fede my gulfe of griefe
Or who hath ſtore of teares ſo great: and fur from al reliefe.
Piercy hath bereft my ſight, and hart hath cleſt in wayne,
Which ſuffereth not my woes to ſound, my tongue cannot complayne
Such is my griefe.*

But

The first booke of

But would to God this complaynt, were not that which is commonly spoken of. The weeping of y^e heire is the weeping of one that laugheth vnder a vizar: for so rarely is the tender loue toward the parentes wont to be founde, that none is lesse. Yet admit it were suche as these verses expresse.

Surely this booke shalbe thought lesse needefull in no parte, then in comfortyng the sorowe whiche chaunceth by the death of parentes. For some examples there be of brothers which haue slayne themselves for their brothers, of parentes for their children: and of husbands for thire wiues: but the loue of child:en toward their parentes hath bene confirmed almost by no experience. Whereby it happeneth that the complaynt of *Catullus* maye seeme rather (as they say) to come from the hart. For thus he bewayles his brother.

*Lo now my study stayed is, for cruell death haue slaine
My brother dear: shal I pore wretch in wretched life remayne?
The onely hope of al our house, O death thou hast bereft me,
Myne earthly ioy this brother was, none other ioy is left me.*

Virgil counterfayteth a moze bitter lamentation not without wrath and indignation of the mind, in *Mezentius* lamenting his slayne sonne saying,

*My country wrought my woe, my frendes did hate me al
If death had tane my guiltles soule, no grieve had made me thrall,
Lo yet among you men I liue, and stil enjoy this light
But longe I may not so.*

Yet how much moze cruell sorow is fayned of the same Poet in the mother bewayling her onely son

sonne *Eurialus*, for that she both a' widowe and an olde woman, saue himslayne cruely in his ennyemyes handes. There truely he containeth the womanly tenderneſſe of hart in theſe wordes,

*Your deadly dartes (O foes) for pittie caſt in me:
With cruel ſword before the reſt, let me deſtroyed be.
Els thou almighty God, on me ſuch mercye haue,
As that my wretched head may reſt, within myne earthly graue.*

The ſlaughter of the ſonne bewayled of y^e mother, in my iudgement could not be better deſcrybed of the Poet. And *Homer* brings in *Achilles*, ſorrowing ſore at the buriall of his friend *Patroclus*, when hee layde.

*But him a carefull cloud, did compaſſe round about,
And on his head with heavy hand, the duſt he poured out.*

And after horriblie he cryed out. Be ſo farre forth the is the vehemencie of his ſorrowe declared, that his familiar friendes feared leaſt he ſhould kill hymſelfe. But another more moderately mourneth for his deathe, and complaynethe of deſtinyes, when no fained feare in others, but his own enforced him ſaying.

*And in my greeneſt yeares, when youth hath beſt power
Shal this my ſpyrite departe away, and death my corps deuoure?
The Gods I cannot guide, their wil we muſt obey,
Where deſtiny drines I yelde my ſelfe with willing mynd alwaye.*

But while I ſet forth the follies of others, me thinke I haue framed a mourninge dittye: and haue not onely deſcribed but rather encloſed be-

The second booke of

Poets. pleasers
of people

Poets bani-
shed by Pla-
to.

uie mourning. Notwithstandinge the very mat-
ter could not be vnfolded vnles I had also put to
the iudgement of Poetes for that is the common
proples opinion, not onely because the Poetes bee
carefull to speake those thinges whiche be populer
and liked of the common sorte, but also for that if
other wyse they would speake they could not, whē
they be so farre wyde from all studie of Philoso-
phy. For whiche cause also they bee shut out of *Pla-*
to his common weale. And herein we must either
condempne *Plato* if he banish them vniustly: or the
Poetes if he do it iustly. Therefore surely the bet-
ter opinion is that they be banished worthily: for
agreing wyth the people, they speake those thinges
which bee in the opinion of the ignoraunte. For no
man denyes that wyse men be few: and the com-
mon people contayneth y most parte of men: tho-
pinions therefore of the Poetes and the common
people, in which they disagree wyth the philoso-
phers be all false, and vnprofitable. Certes it is of
necessity, that the opinion of the common sorte is
false: if the iudgemēt of wyse mē be true: but who
doubteth whether wyse mens saynges be true: or
therwise truely they shoulde be no wyse men. But
if in any thing at all the Poetes deserue small cre-
dite, no where lesse thē in those thinges which cō-
ferne maners and vertues.

Neither is it any maruayle thoughe *Archilocus*
a passing good Poet (but so much wyse Philoso-
pher) was compelled of the *Lacedemonians* y verve
same houre that hee came into towne, to bee pac-
king away agayne, for wytyng this sentence.

Better

Better it is to want arms then suffer death. Verily many times lewd talk corrupteth honest maners.

Therefore seyng wee wyll speake of sorowe and deathe, it seemeth necessarye fyrste to examine whether in our owne deathe, or in y^e death of our frendes there be any euill: and if there be, whether the euill maye bee ouercome by good, or rather the losse by gaine. That shalbe easye to discerne if first we distinguish and diligently vnderstande thys whether after wee be deade, there remayne anye thyng of vs besyde the bodye. Or all the whole dye away together wyth the bodye. In whiche cause although wee haue alreadye spoken manye thynges in the booke *De Arcanis aternitatis*, a mind to speake in the bookes of Deathe yet is not thys question, in this place mete to be shadowed wholly wyth sylence. But as in thys Booke chiefe we follooe the trueth, and euery where bryfenes, so one onelye reason of the reasonable soule, shall suffice vs for the knowinge of his nature. For seyng man hath vnderstandinge, he is indued with many habites of knowledge. That is to say Science, as Geometrie, Philosophie, and Logicke. Artes, as Saylinge, Husbandrie, Physicke. Intelligence which is of principles, as that the whole is greater then any part thereof alone, and equall to all his partes together. Prudence, whereby he considereth and disposeth al thynges that he hath to do. And Sapience wyth these, by whiche hee knoweth G O D and embraceth Religion. And some menne do more excell in some one or other of these or in manye of thepm, whereby it comes to

Mans vnder-
standinge en-
dued vvith
many habites.

The second booke

pasſe that man doth ſo uſe his vnderſtandinge and reaſon in his owne arte, as though in other thinges he may ſeeme rude, yet in that one thing he exceedeth right notable men. Some though they haue neyther learninge nor arte, yet by reaſon of exerciſe proue very wiſe. That it maye plainly appeare, that mans vnderſtanding is in al men alike, and differeth onely in exerciſe, wee perceiue in the barbarous & vplandiſhe men: Wherefore I wonder at the doltithnes of ſome which profeſſe wiſedome, who thinke that onely learned men bee reaſonable, and others differ little from beaſtes. Wherethelſe therefore it commeth (as they ſaye commonlye) that the clean contrary falleth out, that is to ſaye, that theſe learned men beſyde theire Booke, knowe nothing at all, and may eaſelye be beguiled of any vnlearned ſoule.

For if they would wape wyth themſelues, that all men (vnleſſe they bee hindered wyth ſome diſeaſe) haue the uſe of reaſon and vnderſtandinge, and that ſo muche the moore in one kynde of exerciſe, howe muche further they bee frome another, they ſhoulde well perceiue themſelues to bee overcome of them. What a number leauing their vile occupations, haue proued famous Philoſophers? *Simon Coriarius* when *Socrates* came oftē vnto his ſhoppe, hauing talke wyth his prentices became a perfit Philoſopher, and left vnto his poſteritye no ſmal number of monumentes. So hee that was a currier, onely by exerciſe is ſtert vp to be a Philoſopher. The cunning therefore of artylanes and others that want learning is not to be diſpiſed as
boyde

Reason in all
men by nature
a like

boyde of vnderstanding. But as it is wont to be sayd, Howe farre *Megara* is from *Athens*: so farre is *Athens* from *Megara*. So, howe farre a learned man passeth an artisan in speakinge, so farre doth an artisan passe a learned man in his facultye. Of both then the reason is alike, the vnderstandinge a lyke and nature al one, differing onely in endes and vse. But seynge there is in other liuing creatures an excellency aboue that is in man, as in me-
 moyre in horses? strengthe and lyfe as in the Ele-
 phant, power of syght, as in the Eagle: hearinge
 as in the boare, touching as in the spider, swiftnes
 as in the Hare: and yet of those habytes of know-
 ledge no other liuing creature is any whytte per-
 taker, much lesse able to go beyond man in any of
 them. It is then most apparant that mans minde
 is seuered from all corporal or bodely matter. We-
 rilye whereas man in all those thinges, which de-
 pende of the bodye maye bee overcome of some ly-
 uinge creature, and in these vertues of the mynde
 no liuinge creature is partener, no not of the least
 part, it is not possible at all that the vertue of vn-
 derstanding should not be both seperable, and vn-
 mixt and euerlasting. Neyther yet remaineth yt
 naked and bare.

Man inferior
to other cre-
atures in body

Mans soule se-
parable, and e-
uerlastinge.

For whereas of all other liuinge thinges, the
 Dogge, the Harmyset, and the Elephant be with-
 out controuersie endued wyth most wit, though
 a man would spende his whole lyfe, he shal neuer
 teach them the least rule of any Art or wysdome
 besydes that which of nature is bydd in them. And
 suretye to speake of the easieste thinge, if you tra-
 uayle

Man onely
capable of arte
and wysdome

The second booke of

uayle to learne them to bndoe a knot, they keepe
 in memozy howe they may drawe and slake, and
 so fynallye loose the knot: but if you chaunge the
 knot neuer so little, they shal neuer know how to
 vndoe it, vnlesse it be mere chaunce, so as you maye
 well perceyue they be vtterly deuoyde of reason.
 Likewyse foules learne to speake (and as the Po-
 et sayth) so wel, that the Dove wyth hym braggeth
 sayinge *If thou shouldest not see me, thou wouldest de-
 nyne & I am a foule.* Neuer yet shall you playnely te-
 ache her what she should saye, or any coupled sen-
 tence to make a show of any print of reaso. And y-
 nerer they seme to attayne vnto man in speaking
 so much surely is it wel knowen that they be able
 to coreaue no vnderstanding. In like maner also
 Dogs know theyr own names, & are by teaching
 learned to hunte fowles, but all these things they
 keepe by memozy, and truely cannot tell howe to
 put or chaunge any thing more then they be taught
 what occasion soeuer they haue. Neyther is it to
 be supposed they knowe moe thinges whyche for
 want of speache they cannot vtter: seyng the ap-
 pest foules to learne (among which is the Popin-
 gere) althoughe they can learne well to speake as
 me, be neuer more fyt to any vse of reason. Brute
 beastes therefore be able for one onelye art by na-
 ture, and for al thinges vniuersally onely by me-
 mozy, not conceyuinge reason at anye tyme, ney-
 ther by continuall teachinge theyr race, neyther by
 procelle of tyme, neyther by induoure and dily-
 gence. Therefore as *Aristotle* hath taughte, me-
 mozye is no part of reason: but in dede wyth *Plas-
 to, re*

Beastes learne
 onely by me-
 mozy.

to, remembryng is the same, that vnderstanding is
 wyth *Aristotle*. Cruely these t wo differ onely in
 this, because *Aristotle* beleueth the conceiued for-
 mes of thinges come newly into the mynd, he gi-
 ueth them the name of vnderstandinge: but *Plato*
 thinketh they be boyn in our mind, wherfore he ter-
 meth it memozy. Of neither of these t wo, & ther-
 fore seynge they be the powers of reason alone, cā
 anye brute beaste be partaker, but onely of that
 whiche *Aristotle* calleth memozy, *Plato* opinion.
 But because *Plato* in euery place vseth names of
 thinges confusely, he attributeth vnto men, recoz-
 dinge oꝝ euerlasting memozy, being part of reaso:
 vnto other liuyng creatures opinion and memo-
 ry, lately conceyued of the sences. And it appea-
 reth plainlye that that arte proper vnto brastes is
 simple of nature, not of any skil, in þ̄ it is most ex-
 cellente in Swallowes and pismyers, and other
 vile and base creatures far wide of al perceiuing.
 ffoz if it were wrought by discreſſion as artes be-
 in men, it should be so muche moze syne, by howe
 muche þ̄ liuyng beaſt were, moze excellent in sence
 & memozy. Bu it happeneth otherwiſe whē dog-
 ges, hoxles, & Elephāts know not how to do any
 ſuch thing as either the ſwallowe, the piſmier, oꝝ
 the woꝝme. Ther ſhould be alſo in them as in mē,
 imperfeyctyons and diuerſitypes aboute the ſame
 Arte, yea and paſſing ouer into the like woꝝks as
 there is in mē, of which foꝝasmuch as there is no-
 ne, it cānot be doubted that this is wholy the inſti-
 tution of nature. And to ſpeake generally, if any

The artes in
 beaſtes
 are ſimple of
 nature.

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brute thinge coulde haue even the shadow of reason, it were simply necessarie that a reason framed of two particular propositions should inferre a conclusion, which no way can be. Therefore be brute creatures governed onely by nature, not by reason. But certaynely seing nature it selfe the mistress and teacher of the liuing creature, is doubtles immortal, though the liuing creature bee mortal. Howe muche more necessary is it, that man's vnderstanding, which knoweth al the Artes of all liuing thinges, and more and more excellent, besydes also the disciplynes and pynciples, God and all the furniture of Heauen and the Elementes, besyde these to be immortal and vncorruptible? For as nature it selfe is not the liuing thinge, but that whiche dooth teache the liuinge thyng, and therefore remayneth when the liuinge thinge dyeth? So contrariwise whereas vnderstandynge is the whole man, and it selfe knoweth the same, as longe as the vnderstandinge remayneth, the whole man is also vncorruptible, though the bodye vanishe away. Wherefore mee thyncke *Crito* was rightlye reproued of *Socrates*. For when *Crito* for good will asked of hym where he would bee buried (for now had *Socrates* in prisonne drunken hys poyson readye to dye) He answered, alas what labour haue I loste, that coulde not perswade *Crito* that I shall flye awaye frome hence all whole. For the soule though it be most simple, yet comprehenderh it al vertue in manne, not receyuing manye vertues because yt hath dyuers partes, but accoordinge to the nature and qualite
of

of those thinges whypche be handled of it, it is called Intelligence and Iudgement, and wytte, and Deliberation, and wyl, and prudence, and sapience, & Arte. Also brute beastes must nedes clearly wante all these thinges. For neyther doth any of them vse epyther iudgement, or Deliberation, or wil (properlye called) or intelligence, or counsel but are all equallye and vniuersallye voyde of all these, lyke as on the contrary parte al men are furnished wyth these forsooth because theyr nature, whiche is vnderstanding or soule: or reasonable mynd, containeth and is by possibilitie all these. And therefore is transformed into euerye one of them euen as it listeth. Wherefore I wonder not a little at their vanitie, whose esteeme men onely of temperate Regions for reasonable: and imagyne the Inhabytauntes of the furthest Climate of the earthelye wyld beastes, and to haue the monstrous shapes that *Solinus* the Cosmographer describeth. But sure they be muche deceiued in iudgemente. a fewe yeares since *Leonarde* of Pisa when he trauallyed into *India* and *Aethiopia* brought out of *India* Arithmetik and out of *Aethiopia*, *Algebras* Arte of reckonyng: Argumentes of moche fyne wyttes. No man almost denyeth the *Aegyptians* to bee inuenters of al Arts, but chieflie of *Astronomie*. Lately *Iohn Mounteregio* of Germanye and *Gulielmus a Zelender* a manne of excellent wytte, *Erasmus* of Rhotardame an *Hollander*, & nowe all the Northe Countries floweth in good learninge. What an impudente matter is it, that they wil compare their wyttes with beastes, and
 pferre

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preferre eurs more dull to them: from whom out of *Affricke & Sarmatia* be brought arts of so great subtiltye, as we Italians are no way able to imitate the same. The temperate countrey hath neither better wyttes nor quicker myndes, but onely more gentle maners, and more moderate affections, wherein the plenty of all things holpen to the clemencie of the ayre, laboureth to challeng to it selfe the chiefe partes. But if the armyes of y^e Romaynes had not beene, Italye for syne wits had lien still, and geuen place to a greate many of prouinces. So Greece passed the Barbarians, in studey, not in wytte. What makes it matter that the Barbarians are more clypned vnto some affections of the mynd, that therfore they shoulde bee sayde to haue lesse reason? whereas wee maye see for the moste parte famous men to haue bene naturally prone vnto angar, by reason of the subtyll humoure so plentifully feedinge those partes of the sence which serue vnto y^e reasonable minde. Neyther for all that, ought angrey personnes to be called vnreasonable, vnlesse it bee in this sence, that they suffer the reasonable power of the soule to muche, to bee overcome of the affections of the bodye. In which sence if it lyke them to call y^e inhabitauntes of the furthest clymates vnreasonable I agree that they be more ready to yelde vnto vices. Not for that they wante anye thinge at all of the reasonable power of the mynd, when commonly they exceede vs in wytte, and counsell, and subtilty of artes. For I aske this question, if two men be equallye riche, and the one bleseth
his

his riches, the other will not, shall we therefore call hym the poozer who useth theym not? All the noble Philosophers therefore seying this, and beinge enforced to desyue the soule immortall, and neuer fadinge, were sayne to flye wyth lye and all to the vniue of it, seyinge in deede our vnderstandinge to be vnfadeable, but neuerthelesse to be all one in all menne. Hary this they affirme, some one waye and som another. For some (as *Auerroes*) make both the passiue and agente al one, eche one of theym seperable, but the one the forme of a man, the other a certayne accidentall thinge, and vtterlye seperate from the man. Some other more reasonable of these opinions, holde, that the agent onelie cometh from without yet not so to be coupled vnto man that it may bee simplye his forme and part of him: But as for that that *Auerroes* affirmeth of the double vnderstandinge, I neuer found it wyth *Aristotle*. Forsooth it is all one whiche cometh from wythoute, and is not vnseperable, all the reste proceede of the matter and vertue of the seede. But to make in manne two vnderstandinges and both euerlasting is a maruelous absurditye. But this at this time is no thinge to vs, let vs now shewe that vnderstandinge whiche is not myrte, and cometh frome withoute that it cannot possiblye bee all one onelye. For if it were such a one, and also the forme of manne, how coulde it afoze it were exercised in vs, be compared to a bare and shauen table, beinge alreadye imprinted wyth al maner of discipline in others

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others. All men shoulde also a like continue, yea than that is moze) al men shoulde be one man, because their forme shoulde bee one in number, and one thing that vnderstandeth. And if it be not the forme, what is moze sonde then to saye man vnderstandeth. whan vnderstandinge it selfe is no parte of man. Although these thynges be verpe trifles yet let vs bestowe them on these good fellows, and fetche vp agayne the foundation from the bottom. Epyther this onelye and euerlastinge vnderstanding is onelye in men: for els as it were a Sonne beyng seporate in substance, it assisteth all men wyth the lycht. If it be in men onelye, how is yt seuered? howe commeth it from wythoute? howe dothe it not flowe frome the power of the seede? yea what moze excellencye hath man then other lyuynge thynges? seynge they haue both euerlasting matter and nature of whō they bee gouerned vnfadable: for soe to continue, is no other wyse to remayne the same thing, then in lykenes, not in number. For the same power shoulde be nature in an other lyuynge creature, and vnderstandinge in man. But herefore is the liuynge creature gouerned of an other thing, because, nature cannot be the same that the lyuynge creature is, because that, of whiche it is gouerned, continueth stil whē the liuynge creature is deade.

If therfore man be ruled of himselfe and that bee immortal which ruleth it, cannot be one in diuers, for nature which ruleth is seuered from the liuynge thynges, that it beyng one myghte serue manye,
but

but the power of vnderstanding is coupled in mā. wherefore one power of vnderstanding, cannot serue many men, but euery mā hath his owne vnderstanding assigned him by him selfe.

But it doth not as it were a sonne, shyne vnto vs wythout vs, fyrst for that we perseiue oure selues to vnderstand, none other wyse then to haue sence. But sence is proper vnto vs, and al the foundatiō thereof is part of vs, *Ergo* our vnderstanding also. Then moreouer and if it should shine without, we should be gouerned of an other thyng, as the brute beastes be, which for no other cause are gouerned, of an other thinge, then that same of whiche they are gouerned wythout them. But this is a thing most proper vnto vs men, that wee shoulde commaunde our selues. For the vertue within vs, moueth our Limmes because it commeth frome vnderstandynge (is ruled wyth a straunge and forrayne rule. Doth alwayes obay after one sorte, and is not our owne simple, nor knowne vnto vs but we vse it not knowinge, how wee vse it.

And so of those thinges whiche come frome other wh-re, we bee not full maisters of them. So beastes because they be gouerned by the motiō of the natural power, and sence, which hath an outward or foraine cause, in like sort be quite voyde of liberty, and vtterlye subiect to anothers gouernment, nothinge differynge in their affectyons from that sence and seruice whiche the members in man are wont to do vnto the wil. For if those members be hurt of their owne accord, & wythout the commaundement of wyll, they shyinke backe, although they know

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know not wherfore they so dee. Moreouer and yf vnderstanding were without vs, we shoulde no more differ from other lyuing creatures, then they do one from another, and nedes it must folowe yf brute beastes shoulde not want vnderstanding.

Forasmuche as in the same maner the nature both of brute beastes and men should be illumined in y same sorte, & of the same eternal causes. And now is it shewed how brutish liuing creatures are for euer, by no kynd of meanes able to attayn vnto eue the least shadowe of that part which is reasonable, but by memory or els nature sometime to haue geuen a certayn shew of some conceived reason.

Mens foules
be neuer
olde or fading

Wherfore it is manifest the mynd of mē to be heauenly, and deuided accordyng to the nūber of men, neyther, fading nor wearing old at any tyme. But like as the beames of y son, if they fal vpo a thicke shadowed place or cloude do not shine bryghte, but if they light vpon glasse, or water, or chrystal, shine so muche the bryghter, how much clearer the matter is: & yet these beams be no purer nor more lasting then the other, but by alyke perpetuall. So the mindes of men whē the partes in which they chiefly shine be decayed either by age or by sickness, do cease to vse their proper glistering, and faculties so that vnto some men they seme to fade, when for al that in no part they are made eyther faultre, or faynt, or sickely, but continue, sounde & vntouched eue to death: & flittinge from thence geue vnto vs a probable opinion of thē, for other wise how could any man iudge the myndes of good men for euer blessed and happye, the myndes of euill men wretched

ched and vnhappy: Hereupon groweth the opiniō of *Plato*, that after the worldes ende mens soules shoulde retozne to their bodyes. Other thinke they dy not til the world be consumed with fire, whiche after long time they loke for, and of that mynde be the *Stoikes*. By eyther of whiche *Phylosophers*, seing nothing we haue assuredly cōfirmed I meained not to say much, supposing it shoud suffice to haue shewed ꝑ the soules of al men do remayn after wyth those faculties whiche be most properly theirs, As will, vnderstanding, wysdome, knowledge, deliberation, reason, the knowledge of arts and suche like vertues. But now let vs retozne to our determined purpose. It was agreed ꝑ death could be neither euill, nor woorthy to bee lamented, for pfose wherof, the Disputatiō of the immortality of the soule was no more necessarye, then as men say to light a candel at mydnone day, for death did neuer seeme lesse greuous to anye, then to those ꝑ after death beleued no lyfe at all. Neuerthelesse syth we haue fallen into this talke, and now we doe assuredly know, it is also our Determination to instructe others. Let vs therefore shew that death is neither euill nor to be bewailed, & most dishonest of al it is a mā eyther to lament or feare his own Departinge, frō life, which no pittie, nor mercy can puenē. But fear, imperfectiō of nature, & to much desyre of life must nedelye bee the cause, yet hereof whye is thy care so greate, or what happynes hast thou, that mightest make thy lyfe so desired? Doest thou alone possesse any delighte that wee haue not tasted of, whyche myghte make thee wyshe for longer

Death more
uill nor to be
lamented.

Imperfection
of nature be-
deth desue of
life.

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longer life? For euery of vs haue seene the starres, the Heauen, moūtaines, seas, ryuers, lakes, feldes, gardeines, Cyties and towne, wee haue also had sport, dalliaunce, musick songes, banquet, benery, loue, maskery, & finally euery sort of earthly folly, neyther haue wee wanted commendable exercise and indifferent skyll of science, and besides that, we knowe the maner of contencions, disputacions, publi. ke Orations. Yea for our condicion we haue bozne dignity and office, we haue satisfied the honest desires of our childre, frendes and kinsfolkes, and together wyth them liued in glozy, moneye, apparell, and other necessaryes of lyfe, wee haue enioyed: and in euery of theym synde greater offence then pleasure, so as wee maye say with the Prophete *Vanitas vanitate & omnia vanitas*

Yet if any man hath founde a more noble felicity, or can teach a way more strayght to happynes or newe delight, I know not but for my part in euery thing haue felte more grieve then pleasure. But I thinke it happeneth to these men y lusse so much after lyfe, as it doth to those that labour the alteration of met fallg, who synde euery thing soner then that they seke, for besides that they make neither gould nor siluar, y litle which they haue is also consumed. Euen so, such as with greatest care do seeke for felicitye, not synding it, do wyth losse of theyr labour, also departe wyth the quietnes of mynde, and become most vnhappy.

Wherefore sith this exceeding desyre of lyfe helpeth nothyng, yea though life were good, yet were it better without trouble to laye by his masse of cares, and

res and lyke a faythful man restore that thou haddest borrowed. But if perchappes thou in vayne torment thy self, what doest thou win thereby, other then to consume in dying that little lyfe which is remaininge: seynge whatsoeuer time is spent in thinking of death, may iustlye be so called. How much were it better to follow the counsel of *Agathinus* who right well comended death sayng, that it did not onely remoue sickness & al other greyfes but also when al other discommodities of life did happen to man often, it neuer woulde come more then once. Neyther can death be accompted any extreme euil, considering it cometh of most light occasions & is on euery syde at hand. Such thinges as we take for hurtful be also rare & not lightlye found, but there is nothinge more commō or more quickly had the death. For death is takē by ayre, wynd, thūder, water, fire, earthquakes, wild beasts, fishes, foules, dust, smoke, serpentēs, meat, drinke, bed, trees slepe, sorowe, ioy, laughter, company, angar, discorde, and finallye of innumerable other occasions death doth procede. *Philomenes* seeing his Assē eating raisons said vnto his boy, seeing thou hast left the Assē raysons to eate, giue hym also wyne to drinke, fel into a greate laughter and not being able to stave himselfe, coughing he died. *Coma* the brother of *Diogenes* y notable thiefe, being by *Rutilius* the Consul taken and examined touching outlawes fled, he required time to think of his answer, & putting down his head betwixt hys knees he stopped his owne breath, and in the handes of hys keeper dyed so quietly, as none of

Death remoueth al other greues

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them perceyued whē he toke the last leaue of life.

Death resem-
bled to sleape

Seyng therfore wyth such ease men die, what should we accompt of death to be resēbled to any thyng better then sleape, for as in sleape and waking, be we neuer so hedeful, yet fele we not whē it cometh: euen so when frō lyfe we passe towar- des death, our senses declining wout al sence, at last we dye. When *Socrates* had drūke poison & deliuered his garment to his seruante readye to dye did not wstanding lest w *Crito* saying, I pray the remēber to sacrifice a cocke to *Aesculapius* for that was the auncient custome when any man hadde drunke a holsome potion. Doest thou then think he felte anye extreme grefe? surely no: for in extreme pangues Jestinge is neuer seene nor the mynd knoweth not it self. This is also greatly to be maruailed at, that though euery man seemeth to feare and flye deathe: yet, seeke they to eschwe nothing lesse, but rather follow euery thing that byngeth death withall. Neyther seeme they lesse carefull to seeke death then to shun it. The lecherouse man wythout regarde of life preferreth hye pleasure: the ireful reuenge: the eater his glotony: the ambitious honoure: the couetous riches: the souldier spoyle: the mother chyldren, the marchāt trafficke: the studiente learninge, and in summe: there is nothing that doth not occasion forgetfulnes of death. So we playnly se that we both shō and seeke for death, but not wihour good cause, for that there is nothyng that hath in it lesse euil, and they are therefore worthy prayse that do disdayne to dye, yf those thynges for whiche they neglecte

No man shun-
neth death

neglect lyfe be eyther honest or necessary, and yet, for light causes to seeke death is no token of courage, but rather a sure sygne of an abiecte mynde.

Therefore the contempte of lyfe is not so commendable, as intemperancie is reprochfull, and yet as the feare of death is not to be praysted, so not to dye chiefly at necessary occasiōs and tings, is most reprocheful, cowardly, and excedeeth al other vylety of mynde.

But som percase do allow the sayinge of *Epicharmus*. Dye I would not, but to be dead I care not. As though that which followeth death is neither pleasaunt, or not greatelye euill. Alas what euill can it be to want hongar, thyrst, grieve, laboz, sadnesse, feare, and fynallye the whole heape of euilles which h soule beyng parted from the body we must of necessity want, and seing it dyeth not, but in stede of these troubles, enioyeth heauenlye ioyes: why should we not accompt this chaunge good and most delectable?

Therefore *Socrates* was wont to say, that death might be resembled eyther to sound sleape, a long iorney, or destruction, as is the death of brute beastes: If the soule doth liue and after death feeleth nothinge, then is it lyke vnto a sounde sleape because therein we rest without eyther feeling or vnderstanding, and after a while retorn to the same exercyses. Hoste assured it is that such sleapes are moste swete as be most sounde. For those are the beste, wherein lyke vnto dead menne we dye: ame nothinge. The broken sleapes, the slomber and dreames full of visions are commonly in the

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that haue weake and sicklye bodyes, whereupon
Horatius sayth,

Wayne are the dreames of sicke folkes

But quiet and sound sleepes and such as weary
men commonly haue, are accompted sweetest.
So *Homer* doth call those sleepes the best, that be
most like to death. And *Virgil*,

The swete and soundly slepe, which death resembleth most.

I remēber my father *Faucius Cardanus* while hee
liued was wont to say that he euer desired death,
because while he soundly sleape he tasted the plea-
santest part of life, (meaning as I thinke) that e-
uery pleasure, that we take by our senses hath in
it moze displeasure, then sweetenes. And therefore
ther could be nothing better, thē to lack y know-
ledge of them. But common opinion hath com-
pared death to sleape, rather thē trauail or destruc-
tiō (therefore *Homer* doth call it brasē slepe. *Virgil*
ypon slepe, either of which importeth forgetfulnes
of al thinges, the allay of cares, dulnes of senses,
& careles mynde of hap to come. Betwixt slepe &
death this onely difference there is, that in death, y
tyme of quiet is longer *Diogenes* beyng sick, & slea-
pinge was asked of his philition how he fared, to
whō he answered wel, for (quod he) one brother
enuieth an other. Such was the securitpe of his
mynde: as euē at poynt of death he feared not to
lest. In like maner did *Cosmus Medices* a wise mā
in

In our age who beyng nere deathe closed his eies,
whiche his wyfe seying asked why hee did so, hee
aunswered that he did it to bring his eyes in cust-
ome. For in dede the eies of dead men, are neyther
broade open, nor close shutte. And so I thinke the
Poet did well knowe saying.

Is not oure sleape (O foole) of death, an Image playne?

For fatall course shall bring a rest, that euer wil remayne.

But if thou compare deathe to longe trauaile and
that the soule beyng let lose from prison of the bo- Death compa-
red to trauell
dyre seeth al thinges and walketh eucry where.

Then what can be considered moore happye. For
the soule being burdened wryth the body, is neither
free, nor rightly knoweth any thinge, but beyng
ouerladen with cares, doth beholde, onely the fy-
gure of thinges, and as it were throughe a webbe
or clothe, gesseth a sight, and certaynlye knoweth
nothing, but beyng free, doth not onely cast of all
hynderaunce, but also beholdeth all thinges with-
out interruption, whiche beyng true, who is hee
that willinglye woulde escheue deathe? yea who
is he that woulde not rather doe as *Theombrotus*
Ambrociota did? who hauinge read *Platoes* booke of
the immortallitye of soules, cast himselfe headlong
doun from a wall not feelynge anye offence or o-
ther naturall sicknes, but onely for desire of suche
heauenlye happynesse as spirites were partakers
of. Therefore men say that *Socrates* beyng by *Crito*
perswaded to fflye from prylon, aswell for sauinge
hymselfe, as his frends and kinsfolkes refused to
do it, aunswearinge wiselye. O *Crito* my children

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shalbe leste in charge to God, whiche gaue the. As
for fryndes I am goynge into those partes where
I am assured to fynde as good or haply better the
they bee. And at length I Doubt not but you wil
also offer me your company meaning therby, that
the life of man was of smal continuance.

Suche were the wordes of *Socrates* thinking that
Death necessarily myghte bee compared to one of
these thre, and moſte like of all to trauaile, whiche
may also be coniectured by dreames.

For there is nothinge that doth better or moore
truely prophecie the end of life, then when a man
dreameth, that he doth trauaile and wander into
farre countreyes, and chyeſſye if hee imagineth him
ſelfe to ryde vppon a whyte horſe, that is ſwiſte,
and that hee trauaileth in countreyes vnknown
without hope of retourne, in ſuch ſort naturallye
diuyninge of that ſhortelye wyll come to paſſe in
dede. But if death be reſembled to deſtruction,
whiche, as is alreadye proued is moſt impoſſible,
yet can it no wayes be accompted euill: Becauſe
what ſo euer is not, can not be euill, els we ſhould
lament for them that neuer were bozne, nor neuer
woere at all, and they that are not, canne nothing
ſuffer.

But if thou be waileſte thy chaunge, ſure it is
that Death dooth take awaye moze euilles, then
it byrgeth, and thoſe moze certain. And although
Death were euill, and broughte wyth it but one
onely commoditie whiche *Epicharmus* ſpake of, be-
cauſe the partynge from Life was painfull: yet
by Deathe art thereof deliuered, for in all euilles, to
haue

Death reſem-
bled to de-
ſtruction.

haue escaped is a greate comfort. If then death be euyl, to bee dead is to escape, but if it bee good thou hast no cause to lament. And that, the one, or the other is, who doubteth?

I remember nowe that, longe synce hap-
pened to my self (neither do I thinke to disgresse
from the purpose, that aboute the twenty and se-
uenth yere of myne age, I became sore sicke of a
syngle Tertian. After seuen fyttes I sounded,
and lay for dead. In whiche tyme although eue-
rye member was almoste depriued of his vertue,
yet felt I neither grief nor payne, other thē a cer-
tayne tickling throughout my whole bodye, euen
suche as we feele in vsing venery.

Therefore as I saide beyng in suche estate I
feeled nothinge worse then that this Ticklyng,
wherein was not so greate pleasure as in Venus
Spote. And thereworth all a certayne feare,
leaste in dede I shoulde dye, and truely as tou-
chinge Sence or Strength I founde small dif-
ference though the peril were greate.

Afterwardes asking of manye that hadde beene
neare Death, whether therein they felte any gre-
ate euil or not, who answered that in the Head-
ache, and in euerye other sycknesse of the Bodye
was greater grieve.

I founde that in myne opinion of Death concep-
ued, I did not erre at al.

That prooffe maye also bee had, that althoughe
Children and women be moste fearfull to receiue
all sortes of Medicines, and yelde to Cuttyng

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of baines, yet beyng ready to dye do neyther com-
playne noꝝ lament, but rather are offended if wee
seeke to preserue their liues. who cannot therfore
confecture, that in death there is either none euill
at al, oꝝ very litle, seying those paynes whiche wee
feare most are in dyinge not regarded. This is
also worthy to be noted that they that hope of no
lyfe to come, do no lesse valiauntly dye then they þ
beleue the soule immortal. As *Cassius* who hauing
killed *Cesar*, with the same daggar that *Cesar* was
slayn, aspecting no messenger of death slewe hym
selfe, so did *Marcus Antonius* & *Sardanapalus* kynge
of the *Assyrians* did cast into the fyre not onely hym
selfe, but also his bed and his concubynes, but that
he beliened no lyfe after death is knowen by these
verseg.

*Now eate, now drinke now make good sport :
For sith thy selfe on earth, a mortall man do see
Take here thy fill on earthly soyes, no ioyes hereafter be*

Therefore albeit it wer that with the body þ soule
did perishe: yet death could not be eyther euill gre-
uous oꝝ any waies to be feared, yea such as so be-
leue are in greateste security foꝝ not beyng subiecte
to iudgemente, and fre from al suspicion of mynde
either of punishment oꝝ reward, which thing doth
most torment men that are redye to take leaue of
lyfe. But thou shalt beleue al rather thē this, that
the soule perisheth wyth the body. ffoꝝ as it is not
altogether certayne what doth presentlye follow
death: so is it moste assured that the soule of man,
doth neuer dye wherof althoughe none other profe
were

were then the consideration of lyfe, and death, yet death is patiente to be suffered : because there is nothing more hard or miserable then this life . Besides þ by warning of god we are thereof assured. Also al wyse men haue so thoughte, and in thinges ineuitable the best is euer to be chosen. To retorne therefore to the beginning, what is our lyfe? other then a continual toyle, euer more bound to adydesh discommodities of so manye necessities . so much labour, so many suspicions and perill. There is no delight in mā, that repentance foloweth not. I am reuenged , then beware: I haue eaten my self: fulnesse doth offend me . I haue lightly dnyed, mine appetite is not satysfied : I folowe *Venus* spozte: manifolde repentance, sadnes, and in the ende sickness doth ensue . And finally eyther thy desyre is not satisfied & thereby thou stil discontented: or els facietye , repentaunce, and discommodity dothe torment thee . So the onely waye is to kepe the meane. For what cause haue al the Godds of the gentiles preferred death before the life of man? Unlesse it were the worldly miserie was to them most apparantly knowen *Pindarus* telleth þ when *Agamades* and *Trophonius* had builded the temple of *Apollo* , they desired of þ goddes, this reward, that where as *Apollo* , hadde willingly promised to retorne within seuen dayes, that they in the meane time might continue in banquetynge, and ioyfull life but in the end of those dayes , in a sound slepe they dyed, whereby *Apollo* plainly taught that for mortall men there was no greater reward then death, after that tyme the same God confirmed þ meaning

Life subject to
many miserie.

Repentance so
lovveth every
delight.

The second boke of

meaning byon *Pyndarus* who being by the *Boetian* Ambassadour asked what thing it was that best coulde happen to man? *Pithius* aunswearred, that *Pyndarus* do pꝛouetꝛue whyche alreadye he hath wyttē of *Agamepes* & *Trophonius*, whiche if hee doeth, he hymselfe must shortly followe.

In whiche aunswearre the Poet did meane that he shoulde loke for Death: where in hee was not deceiued, for within a fewe dayes he dyed indeede. *Plutarchus* in an Epistle of Comfoꝛte wyrtten to *Appollonius*, telleth this history: when *Midas* had in Hunting taken *Silenus* (this *Silenus* was of the Satyres stocke, nourished by *Bacchus*, who was also called *Silenus*, surnamed *Satirus*: of whome manye descended. He wrote (as *Plini* telleth) of wantonnesse and therein sayned thre *Sileni*) Hee asked of hym what was most to be desired of mā? wherunto he aunswearred not, but at length enforced by y^e importunacie of the kinge, brake forth in this soꝛte.

O you :oxmented Deuilles the seede of one day why constrain you me to speak, that, which were better for you if you neuer knew it? That is, that the ignoꝛaunce of your owne euilles, is the onely pleasure of mannes lyfe. But seyng you knowe your owne euilles, the best wer not to be boꝛne, & next to that, not to liue longe.

And your condicion is such as you are partakers of no parte of those good thinges whiche nature hath made: this spake *Silenus*. The sentences of the Philosophers doe also hercunto agree, and, *Aristotle* pꝛince of the *Peripatecian* sect, doth cal those
moste

Ignorance the
onely pleasure
of life

moste effeminate that murder theimselfes, and those valiaunt whiche can abide Trauaile, Payne, Mysfortune, and all sortes of misery, whic h opine on the Poet followed sayinge.

To murder thy selfe, is a signe of effeminacie.

*In fortunes high disgrace: each man may death disdain
But he most valiaunt is, that cā in wretched state remaine.*

But *Plato* chiefe of the *Academician* Secte, saythe that a man oughte not to yelde to Death, because we are ignorant whether it be good or euil, meaning that in respect of punishment or Ioye, that followed, it was euil or good, because death was the end both of good and euil.

Therfore euē in the Holy Scripture, death is not accompted other then sleape, and to dye is sayde to sleape. What maruaile is it then thoughe for Hope of Lyfe to come, we oughte not to shūne to dye. We fynde that *Saincte Paule* wysshed to dye and goe to god, which desire ought to be not only in Holy men but also in al good men.

For thre sortes of euils there be that may happen to men. The fyrst within vs and our minds, with which temperancye do mete.

Thre sortes of euilles.

The second without vs, and they by wysedome are preuented. The thyrde are those that all bee if they be in dede without vs, yet are they vneuytable, and agaynst them none other defence we haue then fortitude. And I pray you to what purpose should fortitude serue, if to feare death were either good or necessarye? As therfore temperaunce and wysedome are proffyttable for Manne: So
is

The second boke of

Death a thing
necessary

is also fortitude, yet what profite could proceede thereof, if necessarily we feared death? or if that feare were either good or honest, syth of necessitye, death must come to man one time or another, one of these thre must necessarily followe, eyther y^e like vnto bestes we should be ignorant of death, which cannot be, eyther that with willing minde we wil dye: or els that we tormēt our selues.

Were it not more naturall to man (and y^e rather seing that bruit beastes with ignorāce escheweth the feare of death) y^e he wisely in place of ignorāce shoulde vse fortitude, geuē him by God against the necessity of death. Neyther can we thinke y^e God hath more fauourablye forlone for bruit beastes then mē, yet they, without al care do yelde to dy. So we armed wyth fortitude oughte not to feare any death. What profite can we procure to our countrey or frendes? or what good can veratue byngge, if we disdayne to dye *Callicratides* the *Lacedemonian* captayne, he arigne the *Soothesayer* pronounce victoꝝy to the *Lacedemonians* & death to himselfe answered: *Sparta* by losse of me shal nothinge at al be weakened, How noble were y^e dedes of men that feared no death, how happy was their liues, how commendable were there endes? how glorious was their fame? and in byrese, why refuse we to yelde ro that equality, wherein a common parson is like a kynge, a monster lyke a most femely man, a tirant like the simple & most harmlesse soule. The huge armye of *Xerxes*, neyther the treasure of *Tiberius* nor the crueltie of *Antonius*, agaynst death did any thinge preuaile. All mē are
sub

subiecte to one equalitie (exceptinge true vertue) there shall be no difference, and therinto without disdayne, hate, enuy or wronge, to nature, by destiny wee shall be all called, though no man is experte in that iourney. Onely false opinion of man hath made death to be accōpted a feareful thinge, not vnlike as those that haue not the experiēce of trauayle, studye, or concurse of kinges do make of them great admiration: when others that are acquainted wyth such thinges, do knowe the without maruayle at all. And some wee se without experience haue disdayned death, & for light causes kylled themselues. Of which nōber was *Dioxippus* the Champion, who through enuye of the *Macedonians* falsly accused of theft before *Alexander*, & protesting the iniurye, wth his owne sworde slew himself, we haue also sene a scholler a country mā of oures, for not being requited in loue at the handes of a gentlewoman in *Padoa*, with poison procured his owne death: One other in oure Cittye, hauinge susteyned losse by the pryce of cozne, willingly hanged himselfe. One other (and hee also of our Nation) finding he could not with cōmoditie pay his dettes, threw himselfe into a water and so drowned: ¶ I my selfe did see a womā who for very sorrowe that she had committed aduilty (askyng God forgiveness of her offence) sodenly dranke poison. *Cleopatra* although she might haue liued in honoz yet, because she would not be caried about in triumph, caused a Serpent to byte her body, & thereof willingly dyed. *Porcia* the daughter of *Cato* and wyfe to *Brutus* (in honest life farre excel

Death not feared by many.

The second boke of

excelling *Cleopatra*) hearing that her husband was
slayne, didde eate burnynge Coales and there-
of died. foz cause moze lust dyed *Damocles* a Boy
of notable beauty in *Athens*. He being by the king
watched whē he should enter naked into a bath,
(and knowing the king ment to abuse hym) caste
himselſe into the bottome of the whot water and
so presētly died. The death of *Lucretia* is wel kno-
wen who violētly bereft of her honoz, sticked hir
selſe: The wante of successe and not will, was
cause that *Alexander* the greate escaped voluntary
death: foz hauing in dyonkē mode slayne his frend
Clitus, he would presētly in the house haue murde-
red himselſe, from whiche doing in space of three
daies both by force & sute he could scātly be entre-
ated to refrain, and after wardes being at y siege
of *Sudracarus* a citie of *India*, he leaped frō the wal
into the towne of purpose to dye. foz by meane
therof he did both fall far, & alon among his enc-
myes, but fortune would not permit that successe
he desired. This boke would not recceauē y nūber
of ensamples of such, as foz feare, loue, grife, anger
& other occasiōs of no waight haue sought their
own deathes: Besides whom we reade of whole
legions that haue offered themselues to apparāte
destruction. As they did that were w *Leonida* a-
gaynst y *Persians*, & fought nere vnto *Thermopile*.
What would these people haue aduentured foz
great cause, or if death were a greate euil, y vpon
so light occasion did not refuse to dye. ffrom whi-
che determination no respect of age, sexe, or honoz
could feare them: But I see what thou wilt say?
Death

death ¶ Do not feare ,foz as it is not euill, so is it necessarpe, and to feare that is of necessity, were hayne, cowardlye and hurtfull. ¶ Yet woulde

To feare thinges necessary
vaine

¶ I dye easelye, and olde, suche a deathe as *Augustus* desired and didde obtayne. Foz by liuinge olde I shall not onely gayne a longer life but also a more easier death. *Aristoteles* in his Booke *De respiratione* thinketh that verpe olde men dyed not onely withoute payne, but also withoute anye feelinge of deathe, because the heate of their bodyes was quenched, whiche maye appeare by this example: If thou goe aboute to drawe a tothe, that is not loose, thou feelest greate payne, but if of it selfe it were lose before,, without any griepe at all it commeth awaye. Euen so grene youth with extrecme paine to yelde to death: but olde folke in dyinge feele no griepe almost at al: As the tragical Poet sayth

Olde men dye
vvithout paine

In slomber swete, the aged spirite departs

How can it be other the that death is greuous to yonge men, when as sleepe agaynst nature is offensiu. At times it happeneth that such as by custome seke sleepe, at untymelye houres become thereby dyd, pyned, and slouthfull so as in steede of delight they get disease. *Theophrastus* being readye to dye (thoughe hee were an olde man complained of nature: because she had ordained so long life in Stags and Rauens (almoste vnprofitable beastes) and to man, beyng the moste noble and wiseste

Deareh painful
in youth

The second boke of

Why nature
made not man
of longest life.

wyfelte creature allowed so shorte a terme to liue in. What may they say then that die in the flower of their youth, haue they not iust cause to lament? Surely no. But heare the reaso why nature hath not among other creatures made man of longest lyfe and then that he that dieth in youth doth suffer nothing moze greuous thē they that liue old. For fyrste it is doubted of manye (and chieflie of *Aristotle*) whether any creature (the Elephant except) doth liue moze longe then man. Becaue he maketh no mentiō either of the Phenix & Crow, the Rauen or the Stagge: nor affirmeth them to be of longest lyfe. But let vs confesse that which is imputed to *Virgill*, though it doth little importe to the matter where he speaking of men sayth.

A life more longe nine times, the cackling Crow doth liue

But confessing wyth *Aristotle* that y^e Elephāt doth liue moze longe then man: why nede we cōfende whether man bee one or moze creatures in longe liuinge excelled? Omittinge also that the holy Scripture affyrmeth life moze longe to man then other liuyng creature, let vs now dispute that y^e already is taken in hand, that is to say, for what cause some beasts be of lōger life then mā? The reason is this: seynge all creatures are made either for the ble or honoure of man they were framed accordynge to the discretyon of Nature: at which time she made their minds, as wel for their bodyes as their bodyes of their myndes: & were therefore made simple with fewe instruments, as
plaine

plaine thinges to endure longe. But the bodye of man being made onely for his minde, neded many moze instrumentes, to thende that the vnderstandinge might the moze fitly do his office. Therefore although Nature hath made for man the best proportion of body, yet could she not geue thereunto the longest lyfe, by reason of exceeding concuities, and subtilnes of the members: whych if they were great (besides that we should be al Giants) they woulde bee troublesome eche one to other.

Which is wel proued in y no creature hath so infinite members or parte of members, which were of necessity made smal & slender, to y end they might the rather be fit to yeid: & so the breath (an instrument of the soule) became y moze subtil. wherfore nature hath not in this behalfe omitted any parte of her duty, but rather w such diligence helped our life, as for the length thereof we haue no cause to complaine, which is nowe wel proued in y people of *India* latest founde, where men liue commonly a hundreth and thirty yeres, because there the ayre is good, and the people without cares. But wee continuing incare, riot, & vntimely labour, chosing ayre for profit & not health, yea altogether forgetting the length of life, wee cast our selues into extreame sickenes, discōmodities of body and presēt Death, without cause accusing nature, for the shortnes of oure liues: Howe muche better were it to know which way to vse the benefit of nature? if so deare & pleasāt a thing thou doest accompt this life? What is the cause that Philosophers & Hermites haue liued so very long? & yet they to great

Nature hath
don her duty
in man.

Corrupte ayre
and care, causes
of shorte
lyfe.

E.

absti:

The seconde booke of

abstīnēs & earnest contemplation hindered thcir health? vnlesse it were because they liued boide of care and temperatly. Ho w much were this rule of lininge to attaine longe life more delicate, then to feede vppon fleshe and honye? But in this age mē continue carefully in labours and care, watchinge the halfe night baskinge in Venus bathe, abyding in cloudye Regions, and not in good ayre, & drinke boyled wyne: Do not withstandinge complaine of short life. And howsoeuer in deede oure liues be short, it is opinion that doth make it so to appeare. The people called *Garamantes* do not liue aboue forty yeares. I omitte to speake of the *Pigmeians* as people rather fayned then in deede, but wee if wee dye before fyfty or threescore, do thincke that iustly we lamente: and yet who so dwelleth in those countreyes do highly thanke God if he attayneth forty yeares, and thou liuinge much elder do neuer thelesse complayne. Surelpe euery lpe is longe that is continued till death sith at the beginning thy terme is destined, and as sayth the Poet.

In birth we breede our death, our end, on first beginning hāgeth,

Reade we not in holy Scripture, that the number of dayes and monethes is appointed by God? he hath set the terme which cannot be passed. The lyfe of man therefore is ended with olde age: for old age is the last part of life. Olde age is also the necessarye of death: wherefoeuer therefore death is necessary, old age draweth neare. Who so dieth
in

in youth in this onely is the more happye, that he escapeth the discommoditie of olde age, wilt thou make life to seme longe or short by comparison? A kinde of beasts ther be called, *Ephemera* which are made in the morning, and before sonne setting do dye. If happely they dye at noone, theyr lyfe is called short: but if they continue till nighte, they accompte it longe, and yet it exceeveth not twelue houres. Wee maruayle at flies for their long life, if they liue two Sommer, and at flees that continue thre monethes. Yet whych of theese is thoughte any thinge towards mans life? we cal Dogges olde that passe a leuen yeares of age: but a man passeth all these in longe lyuinge though he dyeth in youth. But the life of mā must not be accounted longe or short: in respect of hys yeares. The lyfe of all mortall men is but short: because wryth death it shalbe most certainly ended: It is verue & worthy actes that maketh the life longe, and idlenes that shortneth thy dayes. *Alexander*. though hee liued not aboue thirtie three yeares, dyed an olde man, through the greatnes and number of hys noble exploytes. *Argantonius* hauinge lyued a hundrethe and twenty yeares, maye bee sayde to haue dyed in youth, because (besydes the rarenes of his age) in all his lyfe he neuer did any thinge that deserued memory. It ought also wortheiue to be noted that for the most part, all notable men haue dyed in theyr youth. Amonge the kinges none almoste contynued to olde age, *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Ajax*, *Iason*. Amonge the Poetes *Lucanus*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, neyther

To dy in youth
an aduantage.

Lyfe not accō-
ted by yeares

Notable men
cōmonly die in
youth,

The seconde booke of

was *Virgill* long liued, neyther *Demostenes* nor *Cicero* : howe true, yea to true is the sayinge of the Poet.

Their liues are shorte, and age is rare: vvhere life doth lacke good rule,

I V L I V S C A E S A R, *Seuerus Alexander*, *Probus*, *Aurelianus*, *Claudius* the seconde of that name dyed in youth : which men as I thyncke liued the lesse, the more honest they were, because being deare to the Gods were the soner called vnto them. vsher bypon grew that saying from the Poetes, whom *Iupiter* and *Apollo* do loue, do neuer attaine to olde age. This is also to be noted, the choise is to be looked for, where wil may any waies auayle : but in thy power it is not to make thy life, eyther more long or more short. Bet if thou cā do it, there is nōe offence at al, but if thou cānot, thou lamentest thy shortnes of lyfe for no greater reason, then thou may thy mortality. And y care of thinges impossible is vayne, & onelie proper to fooles. But admit thou may continue thy lyfe and become olde, arte thou not thereby the more vnhappy? because thou lovest that singuler commoditie which by God almighty is geuen to men for the allaye of sorrowe: which is ignorance of time. Whyle wee continue yonge, wee liue merelye, because wee imagine deathe is not at hande : But howe can olde men thincke that death is farre awaye? when already they are entred the laste ende of life. Howe true and worthye memozy is that sayinge of *S. Austen*, A yonge manne maye soone dye, but an olde manne cannot liue longe. And yet no cause there
is

The care of
thinges impos-
sible proper
to fooles.

is, why thou shoulde not be sorre, seinge a yonge man may also dye sone. Sith thende of life is vnknowe, a yong man neuer ought to dispaire whether he labourerh of deadly diseases, or be cast into cruell tormentes and prison. The chaüces of mortall creatures, do shewe that men are subiecte to lawe of nature and fortune: so as without cause they leaue certainties for most incertencies of all. But admit thou doest attaine to old age it selfe? how many euils cometh thereby? labour, griefe, sadness, losse of senses, disdayne: & (that whych is almost worst of all) as *Cecilius* doth wel describe, thereby thou shalt see thy company, of all men eschewed: vnwelcome are old men to their childre, vnwelcome to friendes, disdayned of yonge men, & odious to their owne familiars. They senses serue not theyr bodie, theyr bodie obey not their mindes, they passe the nighte without sleepe, and eate without all tast. They loth themselues, how should they be pleasaunt to others? We reade that when *Zeno Citieus* coulde not dye with age, hee stragled himselfe. What diligence and trauaile did *Cicero* take to perswade olde age to be patiently bozne? but if of it selfe it had beene good, or as riches, frendes, children, & learninge had apparance of good: there shoulde haue beene no cause for him to haue taken such trauaile. A mockerye it were to perswade that health or honour were patientlye to be suffered: and wee agree that olde age is sufferable, but not to be wished for. Howe manye olde men haue beene, for whom it had beene better to haue died in youth? *Priamus* for example, not

Old mens company vnpleasaunt.

The seconde booke of

for myracle in history is refited. Not longe since *Bacchus Valor* being olde and ready to take leaue of life, before his eyes beheld his owne sonne beheaded, a yonge man of singuler hope. The next yeaere before, two other olde men I sawe that beehelde the like fortune in theyr owne children. Wherefore I wonder muche at the great wysedome of *Theramenus*, who onely escapinge when his house fell do wne, sayde before his friendes that reioysed for his life: O fortune to what ende hast thou me preserued? neyther did he aske in vaine, for within fewe dayes after by the malice of tirantes, he was taken and put to death. Therefore such is the condicion of men, as althoughe beinge olde thou mighte returne to youth againe & as the fable telleth of *Aeson* sayinge.

*And as twise twentye yeaeres by past, so nowe my force I finde
A nyne aged yeaeres are worne away, I feele my youthfull minde,*

Yet who art thou so madde or greedye of lyfe, as would take vpon thee such a condition? where in there is nothinge but sicknes, cares, contempte, peril, lothsomnes and sorrow. So as I see not for what reason thou seekest to liue. And if in lustye youth when strength, senses, beautye, wit, & authority, were all in thee, thou were not wstandinge oftentimes weary of lyfe, what shalt thou doe at this age when thou hearest thy selfe called olde wretch, and dotynge olde foole? Death doth neuer come so much to soone to a yonge man, as to late to them that be olde. But if feare of deadlye paynes do offende thee, sicknes resemblyeth death,
and

Cardanus comforte. 36.

and in sicknes by little and little the life is taken a way . Or art thou loth to dye alone ? Be of good cheare, thou shalt fynde moze deade then are leste a liue and those also shall oꝝ longe followe. As the Poet sayth.

*For eyther sone or late in order as men say,
The wretched flock of wordly folke to death do take their way.*

Neither doth **G O D** suffer any to deferre his Destined time. The destines do driue all men, and remayne as a law foꝝ euer: they are y^e happier soꝛte that are son este dispatched of paynes . And as a monge condemned folke the Lawe executeth those fyrst that haue least offended, to thende that the greate offenders shoulde beholde the terroz of death: Euen so. God doth fyrste take those awaye whom he loueth, because they shall not bee lokers on, but messengers sente befoꝛe : vnlesse in consideration of profytte eyther to their frendes, oꝝ the world hee suffered suche menne to tarrye mooze longe. To conclude then seyng in thinges that bee euill, there is nothing moze greeuous then daylye and certayn expectation, old age whē it commeth, hauing in it both the one and the other , doth foꝛce a man to wyshe that in his youth he had died.

*Most vertuous
men do liue
least,*

I my selfe beyng a chylde, doe remember myne owne mother *Clara Michera* then a yong woman was not withstanding wont to wyshe that in her infancie she had died: being growē so greater age) foꝝ euermoze she continued that speache) I asked the cause why she so sayde? whereunto thys

The second booke of

She aunsweread : Lo, now I knowe I shall dye
and y^e with greater peril, besydes that in the mean
time(who so doth marke it wel) shall see there ys
nothing that doth not byrnyng with it greater grief
then pleasure : because pleasures beyng passed, do
chaunge to sorowe. And that diseruingleye. What
is it in this lyfe that can Delighte ? Daileye trouble
to apparell & vnapparell thy selfe, hunger, thurst,
sleape not so plentiful, nor quiet as deade mē haue,
heate in Sommer, colde in winter, disorder of
tyme, terroure of warres, controlement of paren-
tes, cares of wedlocke, studie for chyldren, flouthe
of seruantes, contention of lutes, and that (whi-
che is mooste of all) the condicion of tyme, wherein
honestye is disdayned, as follye, and crafte is ho-
noured as wisdomē Artileus for their cunnynge
not accompted of: but for apparaunce and opinion
of people preferred. So as it is necessary eyther
to displease God, or els to liue among men in mi-
serye oppressed and disdayned. I omit all euilles,
onelye that which is common to dead men is not
euil al other thinges whiche we, do not accompte
euil: are worse then those whiche dead men suffer.
It is now requisite that some what be sayde of the
Dyuerstyes of Death, hytherto it hath beene defer-
red, because they are many, & of diuers mē, thought
woorthy consideration. For death doth seeme gre-
uous to yonge, both for that it is painefull for the
minde to leaue the bodye, dishonourable, and cer-
ten, al whiche in common iudgemente are ioyned
together. And some cowardlye yonge men haue
beene compelled to dye, a known death, but sith
I see

Every thing is
mixed vwith
griefe

I see diuers of the common people patiently enough do take their deaths: I know no cause why other shoulde be greatly comforted, considering y^e not the manner of death, but the quality of the offence maketh death dishonorable. For if thou respecte onely the maner of death, thou shalt fynde y^e the greatest number of mē put to vile death, were those that antiquity prayseth, and our age doe honour, notwithstanding they fell into the handes of Tirants; in whose power it was to appoynte the tyme and māner of death, though innocency be in them that suffer. Neither can a publicke death be dishonorable: if his life so dyngge be voyde of foule vice, because publike death withoute offence, is not onely a signe but also a tryall of vertue. we finde in the new law how Christ did first gaine the glorye of innocent death and after him followed innumerable martirs and prophets, and the moore good and holy they were, the moore cruelly forced to dye. *Esaïas*, cut wth yron by cōmaundemēt of kyng *Manasses*. *Hieremias* by y^e people stoned to deathe.

Not the manner of death but the cause must be regarded.

Publick death not euer dishonourable.

Ihon Baptist beheaded, and synally manye other cruelly murdered, neither was the fortune of other good menne muche better at y^e handes of heathen Kinges and in their Cittyes: for *Zeno Eleates* when quietly he might haue liued in his house, he cōspyrred agaynst the Tirant *Nearchus*, but his entent was discouered and he hanged, yet at his deathe he perswaded y^e people to stone the Tyrante to death. When *Lyfymacus*, the kyng threatened *Theodorus Ciraneus* to hāg him, he aunswered thus what matter is it, whether one y^e earth or hāging highe

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high, my carcass do stinke. When *Socrates* myghte with silence haue escaped death, beyng condēned only in a pecunial payn did prouoke them that did condemne him to procure his death. And when his wife *Zantippe* complained that vniustly he suffered he aunswæred, *An mallet in ste: sētians nō esse malū preter culpam.* The dishonoure therefore is not in dying, but in the cause of death: whiche proceedeth in thyne owne euill doing. But as for paines: youth and certayne knowledge, of dying they add none encrease of griefe, to death, nor make it more greuous, because the knowledge of that is not euill, cannot be euill after, and onely death after torments is most pleasāt. And torments either they can not be great, or not long. Christ for ensample to al men died, that for ensample it might remain. Besydes this seldome shalt thou fynd any innocent to dye of greate tormente, no, scantly once vnlesse it be at chaunge of lawes, whē innocentes are forced to suffer the insolency of nocentes: as in histories it appeareth most rarely is also founde example of violency in guiltlesse men, if wyllfulnes be not the cause for suche as murder goodmen, do seeme to do it of verye will. But how, easy a thing death is either publicke, or by sword, examples do beare witnes. When *Iulius Cesar* was in the murdering and felte the daggers of diuers men stubbed into his body he sought neither to saue himself nor cried for helpe, but fallinge kepte his secret partes hidden. Such memory he had of comlines notwithstanding his woundes, and readines to yelde by his ghoste. And as *Lucanus* sayth his forme in lawe
in

Death an easie
thing.

In such sort dyed. hee describeth *Pompeius* death in this wise.

*In hast he stayd his wofull voyce, and would no worde complayne
Least weping teares might so vnwares, his heauely fame distain.
And when his noble side was pearst, with fearce Achilles blade
No sigh, no sob, no carefull cheare, no sorowinge sound he made
but in disdain of cruelty.*

Cato Vticēsis Determined to dye, ordered his goods wiselye: forsainge the good of others, though hee neglected his owne, which done, reading *Plato* of h immortality of soules, layd himselfe down & slept so soundly, as he snozed: after being awaked sticked himselfe. And when through weakenes of his hand the wounde was not mortall, such as were by, saued him, tyl at length violently he brake lose & died. Such was his gredy desyre of death. *Otho* th'emperour a yonge man of thirtie seuen yeares, of al men accompted soft and effeminate, after he had won thre battels of the *Vitelli* for h sorrow of one lost, gaue his mony and substance to his fren- des and willed hys familiar companion to shewe himselfe to the souldiers, lest h after he shoulde be suspected, and in the night with two dagger murdered himselfe. And yet neither dispaired he of the holding of the Empire, nor wanted the loue of the Senate or his souldiers, but only for that neither in victorie or victored he would hinder the comon wealth. *Caius Iulius* by *Caius* th'emperour cōdemp- ned to dye, obteyned ten dayes pardon: all which time careles he cōsumed in sleape, and table play, and whē the hangeman came in to waite him h his tyme was euen at hande, hee tolde what ad- uantage

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nauntage he had in the game, and willed his plai-
 selow that after his death he shoulde not boast of
 winningge, & called the hangeman to record: who
 led him to wardes death accompanied with a phi-
 losopher. Upon the way, being asked what he mu-
 sed of? He answered I determined to obserue
 what at the last instant my soule shal feele, whē it
 parteth away, to the ende that after I may aduer-
 tise my friendes. *Aratus* knowing he had taken a
 lingeringe poiison at the handes of *Philippus* & *Ma-
 cedonian* kinge, speakinge one secret worde to his
 familier frend, passed the rest of his life so pleasā-
 ly as seemed not to haue any such grieve or assu-
 rance to dye. The seuen brothers called *Machabei*,
 all yonge men & sonnes of one mother by the cō-
 maundement of kynge *Antigonus* one after an o-
 ther, and in sondry sorte together, with their Mo-
 ther killed themselues. *Tectamenes* cōdemned to
 dye, went his waye laughinge, and beyng asked
 whether he disdained & lawes, answered no: but
 by dyinge I must paye & I neyther asked nor bo-
 rowed of any. Which example although vnder the
 person of one vnknown, was much praysed of
Cicero yet in wise iudgements, such behaviour ar-
 gueth in *Tectamenes*, rather vanity, the fortitude,
 for a man condēpned specially for wicked doinge,
 naturally can not loue death, neither was it oure
 entēt to proue & death should be desired or sought
 for. But as it is the condicion of a faithlesse man,
 not to restore that he borroweth: so is it also an vn-
 frēdly and vnthankfull part, not to kepe that he
 borroweth. As therefore death is not to be fled or
 lamented

lamented so ought it not to be sought for. But as the Poet sayeth.

Death neither
to be desired,
nor shunned.

Do neither seke nor shonne : the ende of thine owne lyfe.

Yet happely *Crato* may holde such opinion, and though it be not mainteyned by reason, yet for the meruayle gaineth reputation amonge the cōmon sort. The example therfore of *Theramion* is more honest and more couragious. For he beinge vniustly by thirty Tyrants condempned tooke the poyson saying according to the aūcient maner of *Athens*, *Critus* I drinke to thee (for so was y greatest Tyrant and worse then *Theramion* called that done, whatsoeuer remayned in the cup, he threw vpon the ground. The death of *Phocion* was more noble: he seing his frende desirous to drinke poyson did stay him, after finding that which was not left to suffice did buy more, saying y in *Athens* a man was forced to buy his own death. But why do I laboz to enduce more ensamples of men, when whole Nations may be called to record: As the *Galathians*, did so little regade Death, as they feared not to fyghte naked. So did also many noble Romaines and Germaines that nedeles it were to recite their names. I Doe therefore thinke best in fewe wordes to declare that men were made mortall for three causes. first because they should be some ende of their offences.

For three causes men made mortall,

This life is displeasent and the nearer age y more troublesome, and therefore the *Gymnosophista*, (as men say) answered *Alexander* well, askinge whether death or life were stronger? (Life quod hee) because

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because it beareth so many calamities. The second cause, is that goodmen without enuy might be honoured, and euil Men without feare cōdemned, and that riches and aucthority (for which men commit great wickednes) might not be regarded. If those thinges which mozt all men haue were iustly wayed they should as Cares and euilles be reputed. Bet if death were not, Men would muse onely vppon Thefte, and Violence, whyle in this short space that now they liue, they think so much thereof. The third reason is for that men might receiue rewarde of good and euill, accordinge to the qualitre of their deserts. For after death, such as haue passed a godly life, shal liue not only with their brethren & kinnsfolke, but also accompanied wth al honest and learned men, and aboue the starres receiue ioy and euerlastinge felicity. So contrary wise the wycked in darkenes and solitarie places shalbe tormented. Therefore for wicked folke only death can bee thoughte euill, and yet is not, but Good men not vnlike the Swanue who only at his death do singe may boldly reioyce and be glad. Some there are so ambycious y^e the care of theyr funeralles doth trouble them mutch, who are not to be comforted, but for their folly to be reprehended. what is the body of man, when the Spirite is passed away? It is no more accompted as part or member of him, but rather a Carckasse vnprofitable, stinckinge and horrible. *Seneca* therfore did well deuysse that the same shoulde be buryed, not in respect of the Dead, but the liuinge, least they by sauour and sighte thereof, mighte be offended.

where

Where vpon in sundry nacions hath growen sundry customes of buryinge the Deade. The *Gretians* were wont to wyre them to the earth. The *Romaines* did burne them in fyre. The *Nathabeians* did bury them in their dungehilles. *Pea* their Kinges had none other Sepulchre. The *Ethiopi-ans* do cast them into the ryuers to be deuoured of Fishes.

In sondry nations sondry customes.

The *Magi* did geue them to wilde Beastes. *Her- cani* to Dogs. But the *Massageti* most maruailously do eate them. The *Egyptians* with their owne Nayles doe bury them.

The *Persians* doe wrappe theym in ware. So incertayne is the reason, where is no reason at all.

Alas good Foole doest thou not heare the Poet sayinge?

To want a tombe, the lacke is neuer great,

What doth it preuaile thee to lie in marble, aboue the ground, or in the bowelles of the earth? Doest thou take care for want of a workeman. There is no cause of feare at all. The Heauen doth hide hys bones, that can no coffin fynde, as sayeth the Poet.

Who so were wise would not with one halfe peny spence, buy this felicitie. The fyrste inuentoure of names for theese stately buildynges, for buryall of stinking bodie: what did he other then make triall of an insolente, and bayne ambitious mynde, that euen in death would declare the same?

But this care caughte beginninge at *Silla*, that Deade Men shoulde be buried.

Hee was the fyrste that at the Deathe of
Corne-

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Cornelia caused burning and not burying to be vsed, because he feared to be digged hye and suffer shame which he had care of in the burying of *Marius*. But howe much better did *Diogenes Cynicus*, lyinge vnder a tree sicke and readye to dye, answered them that asked where he woulde be buried? sayinge, I praye you let me alone: whereto they replyed that then the beastes woulde teare him in peaces (whye then quoth hee) geue me a staffe, may (sayde his frendes) that were to none vse when the life is gone. Then *Diogenes* not vnwisely reprovied them saying: what harme can I haue when I shalbe senceles and feelee nothinge? it maketh also to purpose to knowe that, it is incertaine, what doth become of mens carcases cast away: sometimes it was thoughte they gayned an opinion of diuinitie as it came to passe of *Cleop* *Lacedemonian* king, whose body hanging whole vpon the gallouse, there appeared in it a Serpent that brought forth deuouringe byrdes. Whereof grew a religion, as though the Gods were keepers of innocent mens bodiees, which foolishly the people honoured. It is sayd that *Ctesias* found the carcasle of *Clearchus* not vnlike to the other, out of which grew a wood, and became to be honoured for a God. Mea at this dape this superstitious opinion remayneth of them that lye vnburiied, that theyr sprites should walke: So great force hath y memozy of auncient erreure, and the feare which men haue in walkinge alone. But nowe let vs leaue these vnprofitable matters, and (as at y beginninge was Determined) turne our talke to for:
to w

Superstitious opinions touching bodyes vnburiied.

rowe. And fyrste let vs speake of Parentes, because not onely Loue, but also Pietie was wont for them to moue teares. Neyther can wee with moore honestie lamente anye then them of to whom we came into the worlde. This is the dutie of Loue, Charitie, and Pietie: and if any whyt the teares of Children can preuaile to their good, surely then ought wee wepe: but seying no wepyng, or Sorow doth helpe, let vs consider, whether honestly or reasonably we oughte to do it.

Sorrowe

Sorrow for parentes.

Wherein fyrste commeth to memoize the vniuersall reason of all theym, that by Death haue bene called away. For eyther wee muste lamente in fauoure of theym that bee deadd, or els in respecte of our selues. But if in consideration of the we lamente, eyther we beleue that their Soules do liue, or elles together wyth their Bodys they are perished. And if thou thincke that both the Soule and bodye be perished, then so thincking & lamentinge the Death of an other, thus thou complainest.

Alas alas henceforth thou shalte not be thyrstie, Hongry, Colde, Hot, Paine full, Sicke, subiect to iniuries and Calamities, yea (that is mooste of all) henceforth thou shalte not dye, as I shall, But I knowe thou wilt saye, I were to be laughed at, if so I shoulde lamente, neuerthelesse all this thou doest, and though thou confesse it not, yet wilt thou know that so it is. Surely ther is no doute that dye wee muste. (Death) as thou thynckeste, is Eyll: Why art thou then sorrie for hym that is paste it, and not for thy selfe that by no meanes

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can auoyde it? But if it be superfluous to lamen̄t
thyne owne Condicion (because in cases necessa-
rye, weeping helpeth not) To what purpose doest
thou bewayle his Death whiche is the moore ne-
cessarye, that he is alreadye deadde?

But if thou beleue his Spirite doth liue, then of
necessity thus must thou lamente. Alas alas from
a mortall man thou arte become immortall, frome
Paynfull Quiet, frome Miserable Happye, from
Sadde pleasaunt, and from obscure noble.

Who is he that heareth the in this sorte com-
playne (though he were of the dead mans bloud)
but should fall vnto laughinge? Neyther doe thou
thynke I tell the an vntroth (and therefore which
I had almost forgottē) though thou alledge þ̄ for
his cause thou mournest. Seyng then there is al-
moste no manne so vnwyse as dare saye hee com-
playneth in respecte of him that is deadde whether
his Soule doth remayne or not, so euery manne
sayth he doth lament the want of his frend, whi-
che if thou acknowledge the eternitie of his soule,
cannot so be, because (for so muche as is requisite)
he is not wyth thee, and thou shalt shortly go vn-
to hym. But take thou hede to confesse that thou
bewaylest thine owne calamity, though he be not
wyth thee.

To bayne and Enuious thou shalt shewe thy
selfe, if for thy profite thou cannot asoorde hym
hys benefyte, for as with all good will, men seke
to preferre their Children to Seruice of Kinges, in
hope of fauoure & Rewarde, that will come ther-
of, not withstanding the mynds of Prynces, be oft
tymes

times inconstant, the felowshippe of Courte vn-
faithful, and generallye, the Good of all suche as
serue little looked for, then with how much better
will ought we to preferre theym to hym of whom
we had them in whose Courte is neyther Enuie,
Hate, Ambition, nor Disdayne.

The mynde of that Prince is neither inconstant
nor ignorant of any thing. There is place without
perrill, felowshippe without falshoode, rewarde
without doubt, and tyme without ende.

And would thou for thyne owne commoditie, de-
nye hym of these Joyes? God forbidde. But be-
sydes thys thou maye perhappes seeme iustlye to
complayne measuring thy Commodities by me-
ane of him diseased: which though it seemed some
reason, yet if thou consider it wel, ther is no cause
to lament at all neyther wylt thou meruaile if I
enduce reason worthy thy consideration. And
first seynge in respect of thy selfe thy griefe grow-
eth, think that one other may be found euer equal
to hym for frendshippe. Conuersation, or necessi-
tye. But admitte that coulede not be, or that
suche a man were not redilye founde: yet with all
reminber what paynes thou haddeste taken for
thy deade frende, howe often for him thou were
called in question, howe often thou susteyned losse,
howe burdenous hee was to thee, and fynally how
hee hadde beene towarde thee, thou cannot cer-
taynely know, and what hereafter he would haue
beene, no manne can Imagine. Alas howe often
haue some men bene iniurped by theyr owne kins-
folke, Brethren, Childzen, and frendes, of whom

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in times past they were helped.

Cassius and *Brutus* diide aide *Iulius Caesar* to fight against his countray, but being made Emperoure they slew him. full folishlye didde *Antonius* committe his counsell to *Octavius*, wherein hee dyscouered his frendes, trustinge to him whome often times in doubtful fortune he hadde receiued help, yet then through his feare he was enforced to bolūtary Death. *Alexander* while he liued was faith fully serued of his Souldiers, but beyng dead, his Childzen, kinsfolkes, and frendes, were al by them distroyed and yet at the death of one of the he felt so great Sorowe, as scarcely he coude euer after leaue to lament.

The pitre of Barentes, Brethren, and Childzen, both beginne, and as it were bozne wyth them. Yet how many haue bene thereby hindered, here: after shalbe declared. But now to the matter what I praye you canne bee moore vnprofitable among mortall Men oz lesse certayne of end, then Sorowe: whiche profyteth not others, and hurteth him that doth lamente. I maruile not therefore at the *Thracians*, and *Cassions*: though at the death of their Neighbour they reioyce and make good Cheare, because they knowe them deliuered of all worldlye woe, and hope they are goone to felicitye. So contrary wyse they waile and wepe when any child is born, for that from most pleasaunt Quiet, it is come into thys troublesom Lyfe: which Custome a Cittizen of ours (as I haue hard) did folow who dyinge desyred that wyth musicke and dauncers he mighte bee caried to buriall

buriall. Yet know I not whether his Desyre was perfozmed. But as touchinge sorow, it can wel be reioiced syth men do lament that, that cannot be eschewed, and that which doth saue them from all other inconueniēces, yea while they bewayle that good of others, they forget their owne miseries.

What is so bayne, as eyther to lament nothyng, if after Death be no Sence, or if any bee to make them sorry that loue theym, or be laughed to scorn if they contempne theym. Cruelye if wee fynde faulte with them that doe weepe before they? Louers, not beinge beloued agayne, whereby groweth no good but the declaration of their follye, howe much moze arte thou to be blamed, if thou thincke no Sence remaineth, or doest thou accordinge to the fashion of fblers, (and yet they beleeued there were Spirites) by weepinge hope to call backe any to Lyfe as *Orpheus* did *Euridice*.

Alas doest thou thinke that if sorow had bene eyther of necessitie or profyt, that Nature whych hath geuen to liuinge creatures knowledge of so many artes, so manyfolde circumspection, (and so sundry customes, as to fighte for their younge, to cherishe the olde in venery, to obserue affinitye, wedlecke, and reuenge, that amonge the rest shee woulde haue forgotten Sorowe. Besides man, there is no Creature after it bee broughte forth, that doeth lament the Death of an other though wee see one Bysmyre doeth burpe another, yet Nature leste nothinge vndone that for the necessitye of anye Creature was to be requyred, but in education Sorowe was necessarye, leaste the

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yonge should forget their Parentes, and distroye their kinde. The wise & discret makers of Lawes, haue lyke wise wyth a certayne Godly meane respectinge popular folly, and profit, appointed short termes for men to mourne in.

Lycurgus commaunded that aboue eleuen daies, no man shoulde lament or seeme to mourne.

Solon did clearly take away all Solempnitie of Sorowe, as weeping, Cryng, and Caringe. Who doubteth but if Lawes had bene made only for common people, and not wise men: But that mourning should haue bene clearly taken away yea rather thereof no mencion made at al because they wouide haue imagyned wyse men to haue needed none admonition, as diuers of themselves we haue seene to doe.

Sorowve for
kynfolke

But now we perticulerly let vs procede whensoever one kinsman, bewayleth the Death of another, let hym tell mee truely, whether he had rather haue dyed himselfe, or not?

For thus it must needes come to passe, that the Children doe dye before the Parentes, or the Parentes before the Children, or els altogether: as though they were all destroyed by subuersyon of one house. But to perrishe all together is holden for moste Calamytie and greateste Adversfortune.

If thou desyre to haue dyed fyrste, thereby thou doest not onely peruerthe the course of Nature, but also incurre one of theese twoo, that eyther Death is euill, and therefore offenderh lesse in thy Parentes then thy selfe, or els good: And therefore for Dittyes sake to bee withed fyrste, to fall
vppon

Upon theym : for every man studieth to eschewe
 Euill chiefly to him selfe. And to good is most com-
 monly wished to those we accompt dearest, or to
 those that for Dieties sake we honour and reue-
 rence. What is that thou mournest for in theym?
 because they are deliuered of Old age? Or doest
 thou lament that in others, which in thy self thou
 thinkest ought patiently to be suffered?

Or wilt thou wepe not unlike the oulde womā
 that complained her barren life? Upon a tyme
 there happened a certayne olde woman to come
 begginge to the Gate askynge almes and there-
 withall alledged she was without father or mo-
 ther, with which tale at the fyrste somewhat ama-
 sed one good felow standinge by, asked what age
 she was of. Whereunto she answered an olde wo-
 man of moze then seuentie yeares, forthwith we
 chāged our cheare to laughter, although we toke
 great pity of the olde woman beyng of so greate
 age, yet no meruayle was her losse of parentes.

Therefore haue good regard lest while thou wepe
 thou moue not others to laughe, what wouldest
 thou do if accorดยnge to an olde custom bled by y
 citizens of *India* in the Island of *Coius*, y old men
 beinge past threescoore yeares of age should of the
 Citty be caried in Triumph, and so in sight be slaine?
 Because after that age they beyng vnprofitable,
 their deathes in respect of the want of Corn, may
 greatly proffyt the common wealth.

Thys Lawe all be it, it be in deede cruell yet e-
 uerpe Lawe doeth promyse some commoditie to

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the common weale. which I see the *Caspians* haue done: For that Region beinge plentifull of Men, and of Corne scarce: Their custome is, after their Parentes be passed Threescore and ten yeares, to shut theym by and so with Hunger to kill theym, which vse as it is to cruell, Barbarous, and of no brutyshe Beast vsed: So death naturall bringe come to our Parents ought patiently to be bozn, and thincke them to haue passed the whole course of Misery, and vs to remaine & abide the Troublesome assaulte of Earthely cares: Beate and the rather, for that they dyed when Olde age made them comber some to the Common weale, and to themselves by Lyfe displeasaunt.

Doeſt thou thyncke the olde Men of Babilon weare wont wyllingly to yealde theymselues to death, but because they acknowledged, that death of olde folkes, was more profytable to the Common weale then Life? And admit thyne Aunces-
toure be not olde (because to lament death in olde age weare worse then the folly of *Melitides*) but Yonge, Stronge, Profitable for his family, necessary for counsaile, and so in hys best luste taken away? Thou wilt not lewdly say within thy selfe, why taried he so longe? as one dyd who boasted himselfe to be of our house of *Cardani*. This yonge Man his Father then dyinge, in the presence of all Men Daunced, and beinge tolde by hys familier Frendes that he was dead, sayd, all to late: But the wicked wretch or one yeare passed, was iustly plagued, for after a longe consumption hee dyed,
and

and fulfilled that sayinge of Moyses: Honour thy father and thy mother that thou mayst liue longe vpon the earth: Which I see the Gentiles also do. For Homer in his *Eliades* doth affirm those to liue short liues that do not render their parentes that due rewarde of education. Such is the counsell of true Dealinge: and surely these vnnaturall mindes, proceedes from some deuill, otherwise they could not be guilty of so great a mischiefe. The nature of man is diuelishe and so wycked, as it woulde destroye all parentes, neyther can it gouerne it selfe, neyther doth it containe in it selfe any curtesye, by meane whereof necessarily in shorte space it must be consumed. But as it is the part of an vngracious sonne to hate the life of his parentes, so it is y part of a wise sonne patiētly to take their deathes, and to turne the same to his comodity, accordinge to the ensample of y good Physicians, who hauing inedicins will not vse poyson: yet hauing venome at hande after longe tryall of other thinges, will rather then faile by venome cure diseases: So the wyse man by wel and discreat vsinge of euil, doth make the same good. As first commeth to memorye the gouernement of household, the ensample of wisdom, and the desyre of glozpe: in all which y reuerence and respecte to wardes the father doeth chiefly hinder thee, or altogether let thee. The authoritye of fathers contayneth in yt some what moze then seruyce, and hindereth the execution of great thinges, be it in warres, learning or administration of the common wealth: for all thinges hauinge euill successe, are imputed to the sonne, & all
good

The seconde booke of

good to the father, whom if hee loueth he cannot dissemble it, though he deserved it not, or if he loue him not, it shalbe called his default or want of duty. And y^e examples of them that willingly haue geuen place to their sonnes, in gloype are so fewe, as the hono^r that *Antiochus* did to his s^{on}e *Demetrius* maye be taken as a myracle . The euent of worldly proceedings haue also made proo^{of} of this opp^onion: because al such as haue become excellent, eyther in armes, learninge, or ciuil gouernmente, were of those whose fathers in youth were taken away, as *Iulius Cesar*, *Octanius Augustus*, *Alcibiades*, *Cicero*, *Galenus*, *Aristoteles*, yea what had *Alexander* beene if *Phillippus* had lyued but one foure yea^{res} longer? fo^r had *Phillippus* ended the warres wyth *Darius*: being victorizous he had gained the whole gloype, or if he had beene victorized, hee coulde not haue left to *Alexander* meane and power of happy procedinge. As therefore to cowards and men of no vertue, the timely death of the father hath euer brought hinderance: So to noble mindes: it is occasion whereby to shew themselves as they be. Thys muste also be set befoze our eyes, that both lyfe and death be the gyftes of God, and do euer moze depende vppon his prouidence . Therefore whosoever reproueth lyfe or Death, doeth in silence disalowe & complayne of the deuine Iudgement, because both the one and the other is meete and profitable . And chiefly if thou offende or dyd not loue them, thou ought not to lamente fo^r hauiuge lost them thou hated: Or if thou lamente, other wyse it must be because towarde^s them thou were

were vnnaturall. But nowe thou arte safe so as thou can neyther be appeached of impiety (if thou hast not befoze procured their haimes) noz after be thought vnfrendly, sith against thy wil oz by mishap thou cannot offend. How much better had it beene for *Priamus* & *Hector* and *Politus* had died befoze him? Who sounde hymselfe so greuously perplexed wth theyr miserable chaūces as he disdayned his owne lyfe. Was not *Hector* moze happye in death for *Astianax* thē *Priamus*: because to auoyd y^e sight of *Priamus* misery, he sought his owne death, and so by dyinge left him miserable. All these were the actes of good parentes: but of thother, howe many haue bene? Whō though to hate were vngodly, yet to loue them is not necessarye. Some haue taken away the common parent, as did *Clytemnestra*, who hauinge killed *Agamemno* was herselfe betrayed by *Crestes* her cōmon sonne. So *Almenon* murdered his mother, *Eryphiles* for hauinge cōsented to y^e death of his father *Amphiraus*. These examples are common, neyther is it necessarye to loue such parentes: for notwithstanding by them we haue our beinge, yet against their willes (as it seemeth) we kepe it: because they sought the destruction of them of whō we came. Therefore *Licophon* killed *Periandrus* his father, for beinge chief auctor of his mothers death, & would neither take regard of his fame, neither speake vnto him noz suffer him selfe to be spoken vnto. But how much moze wicked be they y^e seeke y^e death of theyr owne sonnes? of whom the ensamples are not so few as happily thou thinkest. *Mithridates* murdered some of his own

The seconde booke of

owne sonnes, and had hee not wanted power, he
 woulde not haue lefte one of his children on lyue.
Theſeus was alſo cauſeleſſe the cauſe of *Hippolitus*
 deary, and as they ſay *Medea* cut her owne childre
 in peeces. Of more certenty y ſame is tolde of *Ca-*
telina, who to th'ende he might be marryed a new,
 with poyſon killed his owne ſonne, almoſt a mā.
Mathews Duke of y *Carthaginenses* hāged his own
 ſōne *Carthalus* returning frō victoꝝy, only becauſe
 meetinge his father thē in exile, he was appareled
 in purple wyth the badge of victoꝝy. Shoulde a-
 ny other ſonne of is hſuruiuinge him, weepe oꝝ la-
 ment y death of ſo cruel a father? nay rather a ma-
 licious beaſt. Per howe much moꝝe vile was the
 acte of *Laodices* wyfe of *Axioratus* king of *Capoda-*
cia? Who hauing by that huſbād ſixe ſonnes with
 poyſon murdered ſiue, intendinge alſo to kyll the
 ſixt yongest of all, had it not by the pollicy of kinſe-
 folke bene prenēted. What beaſt doth liue ſo hard
 harted, as can beare the cruelty of ſuch a mother?
 Cattes and Connies by reaſon of theyꝝ exceדיnge
 great luſt, do deuoure theyꝝ yonge newly brought
 foꝝth, but other mothers amonge al y brutiſh kind
 to deſtroye theyꝝ owne yonge, I neuer redde, noꝝ
 thoughe wꝝtten it were, hardly I durſte beleene.
 With lyke beſtiality of minde did *Euergetes* *Ptolo-*
meus murder the two children he gotte vpon hys
 ſiſter *Cleopatra* the one of good yeares thoꝝther ve-
 ry yonge. Of theſe and ſuch lyke parentes to be-
 wayle the death, how great a folie were it? I my
 ſelfe haue ſeene, and ſo haue manye others, a gen-
 tlewoman, that to enioy vnlawefull loue wyth in
 xv. dayes

xv. dayes with a sword slewe her owne husband,
 poysoned her owne sonne, and befoze their burial
 was married to her new loue. But now I see
 what thou wouldest say. I mourne not for the
 death of suche an auncetoz, but for one þ̄ was iust,
 good, godlye, and that dearelye did loue mee: but
 how doest thou knowe whether hereafter he will
 be such a one still? for all such as killed their wiues
 or children, were at the fyrst also good: yet grewe
 to this madnes after many yeares, whiche shewe
 eth that theire wickednes eyther came with time,
 or elles thoccasion grewe betime. Therefore there
 is nothyng so vniuersallye incertaine, as the loue
 towarde chyliden, byethen, wyues, kinsfolke,
 frendes and maysters. Craft couereth many thin-
 ges, so doth base fortune, occasion and wisdom: e-
 al which when age groweth on like vnto skarres
 in the tre, are increased and detected. So olde age
 beyng come sometimes in respecte of power, but
 moze often in regarde of follye and vtilite, olde
 men do for necessite vse the helpe & counsel of thē
 they loue not, and onely because of their owne de-
 bility, which saueth the giltles chyliden from ma-
 ny misaduentures at their handes, for whom they
 liue continually a most miserable lyfe: Others do
 disherit theyr chyliden, others consume their patri-
 monye, and some seke newe wyues bycedinge the
 sorow that stepmothers moste cōmōlye make.
 The iniurpe of euerye of whiche ioyned wyth the
 combersomnes and seuerite of age, is encreased.
 And to conclude wyth one example of a wyse man
 amonge all those fooles: let that of *Cato Censoris*

The second booke of

as a man of excellent witte suffice thee, he hauing a sonne of good peares, sell first to aduoutry, and after marryinge a most defamed woman, thereby clearly dyscredited the reputation of wisedome, and former lyfe, yea besydes all this, ordayned the Nephewe of *Cleus* to be Coheyre with his sonne, at that tyme Dictator in Rome.

Why should I then neede to resite *Lysander, Timon*, and the rest of those olde Monsters, that in age were not onely wicked, but also without mercy, when the integrity and Romayne wisedome, through default of age was worne away.

Therefore seinge the number of manye brethren breedeth pouertie, where great abundaunce wasteth, impossible it is that any of them can do great things. It must then be confessed, y^e the death of the father ought much to be lameted, but sorrowed not at all. Much lesse ought the death of Brothers to make a man sorrowefull, if men woulde rightly way thinges as they are.

And fyrst it must be considered (which is also to be thoughte of in the losse of children) when alone & without brethren thou be boyn, whether thou wilt lament because they were not bozne?

Truly syth I see no man so to do, I hardly thinke that any wyl saye it is worthe weeping, to bee bozne with brethren: or if beyng a child thou lose diuers brethren, wilt thou now reneue the sorrow of their death? which I knowe also thou wilt not because we loue not y^e we know not, but wee lamente for the wee loue. If the thou think neither those y^e are not bozn, nor those y^e are worthe to be mourned

Sorrow for
brethren.

mourned for, how much lesse the other that were bozne and liued a good tyme . For yf to haue brethren it be euill, then to loose them is a pleasure:

But if to bee good (seying in al good thyngs it is better to haue hadde some thinge then nothyng) who doubteth . But these that liued some reasonable yeares if they dye, are lesse to bee sorrowed for, then those that neuere were bozne nor known.

Suche is the condicion of euils , that whatsoeuer is euerlastinge, is most displeasunt, and in al such some reste is thoughte pleasunt . In a tyme of famine, is it not better to haue two Loaves then no bzed at all? After long labour is not rest (bee it neuer so little) better then none? Doth not one dayes libertye refreche a man well that lyeth continually in prison? Are not such as liue in misery somewhat comforted, when they remember that some part of their life was pleasauntly passed?

Seynge then it is better to haue had brethren , to haue lyued in their compagne , to haue sorrowed & reioysed with them, and therfore art more happye then they that vtterly haue had none at al, who for all that do neyther weepe nor lamente.

But false imagination and opinion, is the faulte hereof wherby thou thinkest that not onelye he, but also thy selfe shoulde for euer liue together: of whiche hope worthilye deceiued, vnworthily thou mournest for thy brother, what if in thy choysse. yt were to liue brotherlesse, or without one onely brother who after fortye yeares should suruiue the? whether would thou haue a brother with such condicion or liue without? Surely thou would haue him
vnlesse

The second boke of

vnlesse to haue brethren thou think it euill,
But if to chole the brotherlesse lyfe: then wouldest
thou not complayne. Yet hauing the better choyse
thou doeste. What is the cause? other, then that
now thou art vnprepared to disgeste thy brothers
death, but when the choyse was made thou were
prepared. This death therfore is not to be blamed
but in opinion onely it seemeth intollerable, and
therein thou lamentest, the commodities receiued
(as there is no necessitye) thou neuer thinkest. But
(be it for the purpose) that thys thy brother was
good and loued the muche, which as men saye, is
not common.

In brethren hard it is, to finde unfayned loue.

Truely if thou haue regard to dayly experience
the most brothers be combersom, quarelous, enui-
ous, dissentious, captious and disdaynefull. The
Poet was wonte therfore verpe well to resemble
brethren to the wynds, because they euer disagre-
ed amonge themselves and lyued not like frendes
or fellowes, but as those, whom discord did beste
become. *Chaitin* did fyrste shew to *Abell* what bro-
therly loue would after be. Then *Iacob* Deceiued *E-*
sau: committing his eleuen children into the ierui-
tude of *Ioseph* his brother: yea some of theym they
ment to haue slayne, forgettinge not onely pictpe
but also their cōmon parents, and the innocency of
their age. After their dayes *Absolon* killed *Ammon*,
his brother. *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gedeon* murder-
ed his thyescorpe a ten brethren, one only except.

No godly law, no holy religion, no feare of GOD, from so wicked a dede could withholde him. Further are the examples of Gentiles more merciful *Atreus* hauing murdered þ three sonnes of *Thieles* his brother gaue hym theire fleshe to eate, spoled hym of his kingdome, and rauished hys wyfe.

Simulus and *Rhesus* did lykewyse one murther the other, so did also *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Iugurtha* was not contented onely to kill hys brethren *Adherbasles*, and *Hemphiles*: but also before they dyed, cutte all their fleshe from their bones. *Cambices* hauynge one onely brother called *Smerdis* a simple man and luyng in pivate lyfe by reason of a dreame was bo him slayne. So lighte a cause, can cause a brother to seke the lyfe of a brother. What didde *Anronius* to *Geta*? *Antipater* the *Macedonian* King? *Phraates* who wythoute cause slewe his thyrtye brethren, and wyth theyme *Herodes* hys father, by whom in the place of *Pacorus* latelie dyed, hee was crowned kynge. The Queene of *Ticia* tooke for husoande her brother *Hiperio*, by whom she conceyued two chyldren, the one called *Sol*, the other *Luna*, through enuie kylled, *Hiperio* then caste *Sol* into the riuer *Eridanus*, and with sorrow thereof dyed *Luna*. *Cleopatra* also for women are not free frome suche wickednes) to thende she might more safely aspyre to the kingdome of Egypt, slewe her sister *Arinoes* and her yonge brother of the age of fiftene yeares. If I resyghted euerye myschylse þ brother shalve comytted to brothers, this booke woulde not contayne them. My selfe haue kno-

The second booke of

when one man twisse gylty of his brethrens death: another the yere before, was beheaded for hauing murdered thre of his brethren, but the deathe of two was apparrauntly known. There is no thurst for *Falernus* more greate, then the despye of wicked folke to committe crueltie in their owne kinsfolke. Yea sometymes this wicked byolence is put in pzoofe amonge kinsfolke of one name.

But amonge this sinfull soxte, thy brother is none. Admitte hee be good, of honeste condicions, modest and vertuous: yet what canste thou loke for moze at him, then others? for if thou seke good wyll: a frende canne do it: if necessitie: thy sonne must bee preferred: if pittie: thy parentes are better: if dutie? thy fellowes are moze fyt: if flatterie: thy seruantes so d it beste. Of all which nomber seynge thou paciently sufferest death, the losse of thy brethren ought not moze impaciently to be borne. And hereof a mozte euident token may be the greate constancie of the parentes at the deathe of theire chyldren: the like loue of whome is neuer seene, neyther amonge brethren, nor amonge chyldren towarde their parentes. But thus thou doest saye I loued my brother dearely, and honoured him cruely: but did he likewise loue thee? *Alexius* was brother to *Isaac* king of Germanye, and by hym receyued as a companion in gouernment taken by the Turkes: he redemed him wyth great summes of money notwithstandinge al which, at his returne hee deposed *Isaac* from his kingdome, put out his eyes, and kepte him in continuall pryson, Thou mayste boldly sweare by **G O D** that thou

thou loued, and not be deceyued, but how thou art beloued, is hard to know. *Titus* honoured *Domitianus*, yet how manye iniuries did *Domitianus* do vnto *Titus*? and (as it is thought) in the ende, wth payson he kylled hym. What can bee more perillous (chieflye where is greate inheritaunce) thenne to commit the childre to thy brothers tuition: a thinge almost impossible, it is to loue truely both the brother and his children, or woulde thou haue thy brothers should loue soe, as they shoulde forgette theire children? who knoweth whether euill fortune shall rather take thy children, or thy good brother from thee? For hee liuinge eyther without perill thy children myght not be left voyd of a gouernoure or not without iniury committed to others.

Call to memoire the example of *Childebartus* the Frenche king, who by practise gotten from theire mother *Clothilda*, the two sonnes of his brother, & slew them because the lawfull heires of his brother liuinge he thought y^e quietly hee could not possesse y^e whole kingdome.

Many there haue bene sene, to commytte more crueltie vppon theire nephewes then this: and common it ys to take theire patrymonyes frome them, but the occasions both of perill and iniurye are al at once remoued. Lastlye this is to be noted, that nature as it deuidenth inheritaunce, so doth it departe condicions among brethren. If one bee honest, an other dishonest, If one be noble of mind an other of base courage, if one bee industrious, another is slouthfull. If thou hate thy brother,

G u

why

The second booke of

why lokest thou to be loued? if thou loue him, loue
byndeth thy iudgement. And very like it is, that
as in thee there is singular honestye, so in thy bro-
ther is no lesse dishonestye, but thou sceste it not,
occasion wanteth. Thy brothers inheritance
was well gootten, how well gotten? naye rather
wonne by deceite: But admitte it be (as be it can-
not) that thou knowe thy brother doth truely scue
thee, thou art childlesse, hee hath children lest be-
hynde hym, accompte of them and let theym be in
place of a brother, in education of them shalbe gre-
ater charity, and in keeping greater reuerence. But
if nether thou nor hee haue children, and hee that
died is thy onely brother if thou adopte children,
they shal better serue then thy brothers. Sylder is
loste and golde is founde. But if this thou cannot
do sooner then thou would, yea agaynste thy will
thou thy selfe shal or long follow hym and had hee
suruiued woulde percase skantlye haue wepte one
teare for thee: and if so hee had done, was hee not
by so muche wyser then thy selfe? If before him
thou would not haue died, why dost thou lament
that he is fyrst deade? Other frendes do liue other
kinsefolke, and other companions. How many
brothers and kinsefolke in Christ do liue, as mortal
men and do dayly praye for thee. And thyne owne
brother is alreadye gone to G O D, arte thou sor-
rye that he hath gayned libertye and euerlastinge
life? The occasion of euery sorrowe is pacientlye
to be borne, not wythstanding the necessitie of na-
ture, the custome of others, and the varyable
condition of worldly thynges: do woork the con-
trarye

feary. Neither can there come any greater griefe to men by death, then to be berefte of children, yet although the same doth happen to the whole number of any mannes offspringe and therewith al hope of other be remoued, yet is this condicion not such as deserueth eyther wepyng, sadnes, or sorrowe. And now let vs, more deeply consider whether the lyfe of hym that is baren, or of hym that hath children is more happye? The childles man hath onely to lament that he hath no childe to leaue behind hym, which yf in respect of perpetuity thou foldest, ly hopest amonge so manye thousandes of menne, doeste thou thynke thy posterity shoulde remayne, though the world were neuer to ende? But that yf wolde doth end, belydes that the lawes haue so determined, also al famous Philosophers, (*Aristotle* except) haue so agreed. And if thy life be not continued for euer, what is that to thee? or if thy posterity do alwayes remayne, art thou for that respect the happier? when the *Peripatetians* conclude that the sede of the father is no portion of y childre, but y they are wholly engendryed of the mothers bloud *Galens* thincketh y the vaines, the sinowes, and artires, are onely made of the fathers seede, al the rest of the mothers bloud: howsoeuer it bee, no graund childe is portion of his graundfather. So subtile is this pleasure of posterity, as in deede it may bee called nothing after a fewe yeares all memory of greate graundesathers is woyn out: who is he almoste that euer knew his greate graundfather? But on the contrary parte, to so small a pleasure how greate a care is ioyned, hereof commeth

Sorrow for
childles folke.

The second booke of

perill of lyfe, charge in education, feare of hunger, care in learninge, wantonnes in childehode, rashenes in youth, contumacie, disobedience & disdayne. All which in yecche men and happye tymes, are soe common, as are accompted for necessary euilles. Now what hope can be in posteritye, when onelye charge and feare commeth threby? People are opprest, kynges make warres, the Prince of Turkes wyth fyre and swoorde wasteth all vile seruitude of al euill the worste draweth on, some yelde, some are hidden in hooles, on euerye syde disorder, euill men are not allowed, good subiectes persecuted? Dost thou then think that in tymes of such calamitye, it is not care enoughe for thee to provide for thy selfe? but wyll also bee charged wyth an increased burden of necessarye cares? what can be moze wicked then this our age? When *Cicero* lost his daughter *Tulliola*, being to him most dere, did repose the chiefe part of hys consolation in hys affayres of *Cesar*, yet he liued vnder a myld prynce in a Cittie plentifull, *Cicero* hymselfe of *Cesar* beloved, fredded of hys greatest, & wated neither wealth, honour nor reputatiō. Then compare tyme w time that security with this priuat perill the goodnes & authority of *Cicero* wyth thyne, the lenitye of *Cesar* wyth the seuerity of other Princes? and then consider whether thou ought to wish for childe: whye *Cicero* did not muche sorow to hys losse of his? The life of men without children is ful of pleasure, ful of liberty, & full of security, they haue no cause to feare eyther iniuries, seruitude, disdayne or daunger of others, in peace they are free, in warres not carefull.

full. And beleue mee, y^e in common calamities ther is no greater care: then to thinke vppon thy kynse-folke. In tyme of plague: no place thou hast to flee to, in time of war thou maiest not remoue: in time of famine thou art vnprovided, whither to go. Consider well these Discōmodities & see whether they are comparable to the want of children. But now let vs returne to our principall proposition: why complainest thou thy want of children? when for thy chyld thou ought nether to lament who either feelth nothings, or as in ioy nether for thy selfe whose cōditiō is best, in respect thou art childlesse, sith thereby thou hast chaunged perill for securitie, toyle for quiet, bondage for liberty, & yet complainest? This other daye I hard certayne pooze olde women complayning & wishing the death of their childrē, and had it not bene better for them to haue beene childlesse then to become in such miserye as to wysh the death of their owne children? Marke well the prayers of pooze people, consider how careless they are of their childrē, & so shalt thou finde, I tel none butrothe. But thou art ryche: no sure, they are onely ryche y^e do dwell in commō weales. And though thou liuest now vnder a king, his successoure may be a tyrant, one onely night may make this chaunge. And in a cōmō weale whyle thou fearest not one, thou muste lye in wayght & take heede of many. If thou want riches there can bee no comfozte in children.

Euery man most assuredly is pooze, and no man ryche: where is no security: how can y^e be happy? yet this is one most certayne condition of mortall mē.

G.iiii.

That

Sorrow for
losse of child, &

The second booke of

That as some are subiect to the warres of diuers:
vnder one all is wholye at his deuotion. Remem-
ber *Heliogabalus* theemperour & sought togethers &
children of al *Italye*, what did *Astages* comit vp-
pon *Harpagus*? or what did *Cambises* to the *Persians*?
and chieslye to *Prexaspes*: Suche is the condicion
of men, as better it were to liue in feare of warre
by sondrye Dynces, then of one that maye at hys
will commaunde all. One *Octavius Augustus* was
a good Dynce, because in ciuill wares mercifully
enough he shedde the Romaine bloude, but what
beastes did continually succede him? As *Tiberius*
Caligula, *Nero*, *Claudius*, what mischief could bee
more hardlye suffered then these monsters? But
admit thou liue in happy times, yet of them do I
receiue no profe consideringe I wrote this booke
to serue my selfe in harde chaunces, not onely in
respekte of the vaine oppynion of some mortall men,
touchynge priuate aduentures: but also that vn-
looked for euentes, might more pacientlye b borne:
whiche thoughe they bee not worse then other that
are priuate, yet by reason of their sodennes do com-
monly trouble men most. Yet syth wythout mine
assente this Booke maye come to handes of po-
sterity, I maye happelye be reprovied for hauinge
attributed to much blame to some one tyme, and
dispayred of better, wherefore let the blame of ty-
mes be lefte to their place, and (as meete it is) our
talke be turned to comforte. Thy sonne is deade
what can more easely be recouered? none age but
the laste, no sickness excepte the consumption that
hyndereth child getting: which being so we ought
not

not to be so carefull of children as of our selues.

Aristotle concludeth that at threescore yeares of age or threescore & ten a mā leaueth to get children, yet is it manifest, that some haue gotten childrē after fower score yeares, and thoughē fauoure and force were decayed. And among diseases both the gout and consumption do suffer generation. These onely are thought insufficient to get childrē, & wantg their stones, or are depriued of their vertue: Or els those whose baynes behind their eares be cut.

For suche men as sayth *Hipocrates* be al barren.

How well therfore dooth Nature prouide & what a man most dispayreth of, the same by quick occasion is supplied. There is nothing that can more easily or soner come or happen to man, then the riches gotten of the father: because the wyunnyng of Gloze and freendes asketh longe tyme: but a child is gotten in a moment. What losse can then the death of thy Sonne be: and thoughē it were the greatest, yet because so easlye and of euery mā may be supplied, it ought not to be accompted of. But beyngē poze to get riches is verye harde, for as the saying is.

Now riches are not geuen, but where as riches do abounde.

But thou shalt see a man now childles and olde, yet or thou see hym nexte hee is become riche: If a ny member be cut of, it growethe not againe, yf the father dye, or brother, their liues are neuer called back, if thy fame be perished, harde is thy reputation recovered: but the losse of children is so easlye

The second booke of

ly, shortly, and fullre supplied: as in this respecte onely is not woorthy any comfort, no though thou wer assured hee were thy sonne in dede. And how incertayne that is (O Lozde) who knoweth not, thy beliefe must do it, beliefe is therein nedfull.

Onely y fidelit y of the wife, doth make him thine, other assurance hast thou none . But if a mā do happen to mourne for the death of an other mans childe, for by coniecture, Bastardes dye sonest, by reason they wer gotten, with feare and most vniquietnes of mynde, then looke what Laughter yf prouoketh? But now thyne owne childe (a thinge vnknowē but only to his mother) is taken away, what part of hym was thyne: his soule? I neuer founde anye so wicked as would be of that minde, his bodye: howe can that bee when hee is made of his fathers seede? which is the superfluous noyture of the thynde concoction: as the donge fyrie, the hyrne secōd, yf whatsoeuer commeth of superfluity be oures, then so shall woymes and Lyce be ours and woorthy our loue. Remember how muche seede in tymes past thou haste consumed in waste, eyther vpon harlots or vpon thy wyfe beyng w chyld: all that is losse and thou complaynest not, what is moze in thy sonne then the effusion of thy seede? wilte thou then so muche lamente a byle and disdayned thing, whereof is no reason. If thou respect the beginning, thou shalt fynde that thou lamentest none other thē a little vnhappy extremēt, which beyng lost in dreames (as oftē it hapneth) thou carest not at all, but what matter is it how it be losse? I meruaile the lesse of *Aristippus*, that
disdayn

disdayned his sonne so much as he cast him a way.
 Other likewise I heare destroyed them, as *Laius*
 did *Oedipus*, *Priamus*, *Paris*. Next ther do thou think
 this custome onely of kynges obserued, but also of
 priuate men: which law by *Romulus* of infamous
 memozy and happy sucresse in Italy first was ad-
 nulled. Hereuppon were erected almose houses, &
 children should no more be broughte bp by wylde
 beastes. But this perhappes thou wylte say: My
 sonne was now become lyke vnto me, I had spēt
 much money, care and payn bpō hym, and so was
 likely to haue ben noble, but these cōplaynts were
 more meete for mothers: because if thou lamen-
 test thy losse of money thē hadst thou more nede to
 bee cur. d of the couetise, then comforted for losse
 of thy sonne: And herof bee most assured that chyl-
 dren do not take their maners and conditions of
 their Parentes, and they will follow the condicy-
 ons of none lesse then of theym: which is the rea-
 son why the children of poze men are more like to
 their parents, then the children of the riche, because
 poze mē are both fathers & maysters of their chyl-
 drens lyfe, but rich men not so. Why shouldeste
 not thou then make an other mans childe thyne?

For hee is most lyke the in conditions that is of
 thyne own bringinge bp *Quintilianus* telleth how
Alexander had certayn imperfectiōs of *Leonida* his
 Tutor, which he kept still beyng come to mans e-
 state. For though wee eschewe the imitation of
 vices, yet in vertues we seke to follow them.

Therefore if he that is dead was loued for vertue,
 we commend thy meaninge, but yet (O Lorde)
 howe

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how pleasant, how happye is that lyfe whereunto from this obscure darknesse thy sonne is gone, yea howe swete was that trauaile? **N**eyther do I thinke it nedeful to declare those ioyes & pleasures which our soules hauing forsake these earthly pleasures do possesse: for whyle the soule is loden with that heauy burden, it cōprehendeth immortal thinges wyth the mortal. Scātlye it can be expessed, howe much force, dignity, and glory the soule beyng at libertye haue. **F**or the conceiuing) and not the teachinge whereof) albeit a man in thys lyfe, be neuer so excellēt, he is notwithstanding imperfecte, because he is onely a man complete that vnderstandeth which the soule beyng closed wythin the bodye cannot doe. Therefore what maruayle ys it & the soule, so slowly and painfully departeth frō the bodye? Lyke wyse wyth greate labour & much difficulty a man is from his mother brought forth to this vale of misery. **I**n consideration of all these the bitternes of sorrow for thy sonnes death should be the lesse, wayghinge the glory which he now hath & the reputacion of his youth together wyth the weareye abode hee made in hys mothers wombe. **N**ature hath ordayned, that al greate encrease of felicitye is attayned through harde labour. **W**ith the same reason shalt thou be cōforted, yf thy son be an infant and thyne onely sonne (**I** omitte to tell what hee maye hereafter be) but now he hath hyt & marke for which he was bozne. **F**or is there any other end whereto we were boyn then death: as the bodye for the soule, and as slepyng for watching, so was lyfe geuen vnto vs for deat,

death, wherfore as sleape is necessarie for all men, some more, and some lesse, so is lesse, for the Soules wherfore if thou want meane to get an other son, then choose thou some other one of thyne affinity, and byng him by in learninge, honeste disciplyne, & hardly shalt thou fynd such a sonne made by his parentes. If such a one by educatio thou makest, thou gaynest thanks of God, whose childre we all be & of thy coutry which is mother to al men: Neither in duty shalt thou fynd him inferior to other children. It is not my meaninge to wish the death of children, but that patiently men should beare yt, neyther will I that the childe of an other should be preferred before our owne, but rather that thy son be so brought vp as he may, deserue to be preferred before others, yet if wee consider succession, we shall fynde that excellent Maysters haue hadd notable schollers, noble fathers, byle children: And to omit al others. *Socrates* was not esteemed of his sonnes, but by *Plato* his scholler was praised to the skyes. Did not *Theophrastus* commend *Aristotle* more then *Nichomachus*. The aunciente examplis do shewe that the scholars haue proued not onely more worthy then sonnes, but also more thankful. What sonne was euer so fauourable to his father as woulde yelde him the glozy due to hymselfe, as *Plato* woulde haue done to *Socrates*? Besydes that men of notable vertue haue not onely wanted children but also neuer sought for any. As *Thales*, *Zeno*, *Plato*, *Appelles*, *Diogenes*, *Galenus*, *Virgilius* & *Homer*. and to some they haue come as it weere agaynste their wylls as to *Alexander*, *Iulius* and *Cesar*. And

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no' meruayle y' noble men haue seldome vertuous childen. Surely I think for some great respectes it cometh to passe, that of some noble parentes vile childre should discend, whiche was very well & pleasantly witnessed of *Spartianus*, whose wordes are these Remembring with my selfe O *Dioclesian Augustus*, that almost none of these greates men haue left any son very good or profitable. It appeareth then sufficiently that worthy men, haue eyther died without childre or haue bene without. And fyrst let vs begyn at *Romulus* he lefte no childzen. Neyther had *Numa Pompilius* any that could profit the common weale. What had *Camillus*? were his childzen lyke hym? What had *Scipio*? What had the two *Catoes* that were called the greates? then what shoulde I speake of *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgilius*, *Crispo*, *Terentius*, *Plautus*, with diuers others? What of *Cesar* or *Tullius*, to whom alone it had bene better to haue bene childlesse. What of *Augustus*? who thought he had the choyse of al, could not addopt one good *Traianus* was also decciued in the electiō of his heire. But omitting adopted childzen let vs speak of babes begotten by *Antonius pius*, and *Marcus* the goddes of the common wealth. What man hadden more blessed then *Marcus* hadde hee, not lest he hynde hym his heire *Commodus*? Or who had bene more happy then *Seuerus Septimius*, had he not gotten *Bassianus*? What doe we learne other by these ensamples, then that Childzen do not take their myndes of their Parentes, but of G D, otherwise they should be lyke to them. For in dede we cannot call them oures, but childzen of god the
com

common father, and they oughte to bee embraced for their vertue, not vertue for thē, whiche if mē in worldly proceedinges did mark, they should be like to Goddes and leade a blessed lyfe. But nature hath laboured somewhat to deceiue vs in the loue of children: that is to say, ȳ every man do so much care of that, as for that, we faile not to forget ȳ loue of our selues our cōūtry, of god, and that which is most our child, & al. So dotingly we do loue our chyldren: as we seme rather to hate thē. We bying thē v̄ not in vertue, but in iniury: not in learning but in lusting; not in feare of god, but in desire of riches: not to liue long, but to ȳ performāce of foule delites: yet was it not nature ȳ made this default, of folish care, & of imoderate loue to whō she gaue a certain modest desire of hunger & thirst to euery creature, so far as was nedefull. But through imperfectiō of myad, onely mā wout hunger, eateth & drinketh without thirst, & without necessity dothe vse euery sorte of delight. And in lyke sort doth hee loue his chyldren so much, as not onely he suffereth them, but for them the fathers wil also do euil, and attempte al wickednes, and thinketh them of his owne making. But assuredly they are not, but bee the woꝝkes of god, who gaue theym mynde, life, forme, force, maners, wit, and encrease.

And of these the Father made nothing. Then leaue I saye to lamente for that is none of thyne, hee that made it hath called it agayne vnto hym, to whose Commaundemente ȳ is bothe Iuste, and Godlye ȳ shoulde obaye. And if thou desire to knowe whether this Loue bee Naturall,

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or like vnto other desires, an imperfectiō of minde
Beholde other liuinge thinges, who after educati-
on do neuer knowe their owne, no nor loue them.
But if this were a gift of Nature, it should by re-
son of pittye, and necessity rather be in children to
wardes their parentes, then in parentes towards
their children, which example Nature as it seemeth
did not forget in brute beastes: for among birdes,
y^e Stork, Among four footed beasts, the Dormouse,
doth feed his aged parentes. But after the first e-
ducatiō, of loue bozne to their parentes no syne is
ertant, but men (by study as it were) doth passe o-
ther liuing thinges, though y^e imperfectiō of mind
esteeming hymself to much. The pitie of brute bea-
stes commeth altogether, whē bothe of educatiō &
loue thend is one, during whiche time the old bea-
stes be weaker, laberlome, leane, carefull, and mi-
serable, as to al men it doth appeare. Surely it
seemeth a greate madness to torment thy mynd cō-
tinually with his needlesse care of posterity, nor be-
sydes that, this desyre is neyther reasonable for ne-
cessarye, someman may iustly maruaile, why it is
so common, but the answer therunto is not don-
ned of. If I sayd thou doest show me the cause why
so many men became couetous, ireful, and subiect
to desires of luste. And al these besides they be vi-
ces, not naturall nor reasonable, are also dishonest.
Yet thonly loue of childre after educatiō though
it procedeth neither of nature nor reason: yet is it
honest. But I haue perhappes in so apparēt & firm
matter for wyse men spokē more then was requi-
site. And haue vled reasons true, though subtil and
shorte

Hoſte. Therefore let vs come to longer ſpeech, and
 argumētſ more plaine, leaſt I ſeeine not ſo much
 to proue, as to deceyue, thy ſonne therefore beinge
 dead: conſider fyrſte, whether hee was well repo-
 ſed or accompted wicked: for many times the ſon
 of a good father, is ſeene to proue an euill man, by
 reaſon the homely vices are hardlier diſcouered the
 the externall: beſydes þ, loue binderth iudgement.
 Whereof a fable is come forth, how the *Cuckow* in
 olde time, for her ponge birdes, contended in ſing-
 inge with the *Nightingale* and hers: appointinge
 the *Aſſe* to be their Iudge, whoſe ſentence was þ
 he knew not which of them did ſynge moſt ſweet-
 ly, but well he was aſſured the *Cuckowes* dyd moſt
 playnly and diſtinctly pronounce their notes. So
 the chyldren of euery one are not onely beſt loued,
 but alſo the euill by the euill are moſt allowed of.
 In which caſes, as we haue alſo ſeene me of right
 good iudgement, meete it is that we ſhoulde not
 onely lament but alſo reioyce. And in aunciet time
 they did much more the this, for both *Manlius Tor-*
quatus againſte his ſon *Decius Silanus*, pronounced
 ſo cruell a ſentence as w a corð he haged himſelfe.
 And *M. Scaurus* findinge his ſonne amonge others
 fleinge beinge only guilty of feare, dyd force him to
 retorne to his enemies & be ſlaine. Like wiſe a wo-
 man of *Lacedemon*, killed her ſon for his ſlouth, and
 returninge from the warres, of whom thys noble
 verſe was witten.

Thou daſtard knight, *Damatrixon*, thymother here haue ſlayne,
 That doeſt both her, and *Spartayn* bloud: with cowardice diſſayne.

Such and more wicked ſonnes bring bereft of

H. j.

lyfe

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life do thereby ceasse to offend their parēts & kind-folke, yea are also themselves saued frō greater infamy. Some sonnes haue not forborne to cōspyre the death of their fathers. As *Blandenius Zesides*, who slewe his mother, & *Euander* that at the perswasio of his mother *Nicostrata* murdered his own father, and for that cause was banished Italy.

Such monsters, as they are, beinge left aloue, are causes of many euils: so *Paris* was the subuersion of both *Priamus* house and country: notwithstanding, when he dyed, *Priamus* wepte. So foolthe are mens cares, y they wishe they wot not what, excellinge (as they thinke) the Gods in wisdomie, & reprove those y in their ignorance shall procure their good. For if thy son were wise, honest, godly, & nobly minded, hauinge hope of childre that may support thine vnweldie age, what is waing in the graund children? and if none be, a fond thinge it was to hope y he would not, nor could not do.

But howe soeuer it bee, greater is the daunger of them that are worse then death, then hope of those he hath, to proue better. And misery, viletie, shame, continual grieve and disdain are almoze euil then death: Death is common to all men, but these to few, who also are all subiect to death. Were it not better by dyinge to preuent all these iniuries, then to haue thy desyre so dearely bought? For necessary it is that who so will lue olde must suffer many euils. There is almost no mortall creature lyuing longe, but at sometimes before he dieth doth hate his life whereto put the saying of the Poet.

Although unweldy age, when lyfe doth weare awaye,

Nam

*None other ill did bringe withall, but that, (as men do say)
By lininge longe full of teares: which we woulde not beholde.*

Truely if such desyre thou haue of chyldren, if thy sonne died thou beinge olde, thy time to follovv is next: if in thy youth then hast thou hope enough to haue more. Finally Sorow is a womanish thing, and not fit for men. Therefore the *Lycians* were wont to constrainne mourners to weare womens garmentes, to thende their garment might agree with the minde, and surely not without occasion because amonge all people, the more vile they be, the more beastly they lament. As women firste, nexte children, & the barbarous men, the greatest number of whom be effeminate. Contrarywise men y more valiaunt they be, the more they oppresse their griefe and soner driue their Sorow away.

This sort of Sorow goeth to the infernall God and as it is hys custome in many others, so doeth he vse to call them nearest to hym, that moste do honour him. But if at the beginninge thou driue him away, and suffer not thy mind to be infected, full farre shall he be from thee: But beholde how comely and honest a thing it is that a man of good yeares, beinge well countrayled by others, shoulde in womens weede, beastly weepe, waile, cry out, and lament.

O gentle wit. But though he doeth none of all these, yet inwardly to torment himselfe with sadness is the parte neyther of a wofull nor valyaunte man: but of one that searcth rather the reprehension of others, then knoweth what is seemely.

Howe much better were it for him often to re-
Dil.
mēber

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member *Vmbres somnum Homo?*

What coulde haue bene better sayde? So subtyll and fugitiue is the life of man, as of al other thyn-
ges, seinge shadow is most subtil and sleepe moste
deceiueable and incertaine, what shal the shadow
of sleape be? And yet notwithstanding this is the
lyfe and glory of man. One other wrote thus.

As the generation of leaues is, so is also mans :
for in dede what dissimilitude is there? leaues do
fall by force of Sonne, showers, wynd, hayle, yea
(and if all faile) by themselves : Euen so the life of
man, beleue me thou hast receiued none iniury at
al, death is the gift of God, and God doth wrong
to no man. If condemned, by voyces of assente
thou be deposed from Aucthority, thou wouldest
thyncke that it were meete to beare it wyth pati-
ent minde, though that iniury cannot want suspi-
cion, reproch, and falshode.

And now when thou fearest none of these, dare
thou disallowe the Sentence of God? And doest
thou not remember that which *Leontius Neapoles*,
the Bischopp, telleth to haue happened in the lyfe
of *Thon*, Patriarche of *Alexandria*. To whom
when a certayne man had offered seuen poundes
of Golde to pray for his onely Sonne who a mo-
neth past, was with a Ship & great riches drow-
ned, after a few dayes obteyned of the Patriarke
hys desyre. And while in the meane space he con-
tinued in sadnes, he dreamed one night & the Pa-
triark appeared vnto him saying, Lo according to
thy prayer & thy son might be saued so he now is,
because he is dead, but if he had liued, from wicked
lyfe

life & damnatiō after death he could not hane ben preferued, god only knoweth what is expediēt for vs when we are ignoraunt our selues and know not what is to be desyred. Wherefore it is conuenient that we do not only receyue comfort, but also reioyre at the death of our neyghbours, of whom if thou desyrest to continue any memozye, though often tymes also thou wantest their companye, it shall be both to thee and thy posterity cōtinued by his noble tombes, pictures, statues, verses, orations, dedications, institutions of eternyty and Sacrifyces. Is it not moze honest and pleasant to cōfyrme thy selfe to these comforts? to commend his glory to mortall men? then with weeping & wailing to kyll thy selfe? Yet as to them that are endewed wyth vertue, and acknowledge the felicitye of soules these are superfluous, so to theym of maners moze frayle, such kynde of comfortes are not vnseemely. For *Augustus* hanged in his bedde chamber the picture of hys graundsonne beinge a childe of him dearely beloued, and so often as hee came vnto that chamber hee neuer sayled to kysse the picture. *Alexander* dyd set vp certayne images to *Fabius Quintilianus* not with teares, but wyth a solempne oration (conteyning the commendation of his sonne) did bury him. What did *John Mesue* who in hys fathers name falsely turned the tytyle of hys booke? So did also *Zoar* & *Aristotle* wryte bookes to thair sonnes. So dyd *Cicero* & *Plato* in their disputations call vpon their brothers & friends, not in mourning garments and weping, but wyth monuments cuerlastinge honored the same

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to their posterity. But now w^h reasons (I thinke) sufficiently it is proued, that the death of children is neyther to be so lamented nor euill. Let vs now procede to tel how manfully our elders were w^ot to beare such mishaps. *Octavianus Augustus* hauing within twenty moneths lost. ij. of his Nephewes was not moued so much as he refrayned to sytte dayly in y^e Senate. *Demosthenes* the. vii. day after y^e death of his only daughter put on his whyte garment, was crowned, & sacrificed an ox. More valiantly did *Dion*, he being in counsel of the comonweale, and enformed that his onely son had fallen from the house toppe and broken hys necke, gaue order to his frendes for his buryall, & not withstandinge proceeded in his busynes begonne. Like here vnto did *Antigonus*, he seinge his son slayne in batayle, gaue none other signe of sorrow but sayd. *O Alcione* later thē thou ought thou art now dead, for so manfully assayling thy enemies, thou doest not greatly esteeme my warnings nor thine own weldoinge. The constancy of *Pericles* can be inferre to none of these, for whē within eight dayes, he had lost his two sōnes, *Paralus*, & *Xantippus*, yonge men of singuler witte did notwithstandinge put vpon him his white garmēt, was crowned, made orations to the *Athenians*, & comminge from hys house when his children were dead, w^h mercuriuous constancy of minde gaue counsel & vttered reasons of y^e discipline of war. So vpon a tyme *Anaxagoras* his scholemaster being in disputacion, woord was brought of his sonnes death, wherat he paused a little, but by and by confessing he had begotten

ten a mortall creature, proceeded in disputation.
When *Paulus Emylius*, had taken in hande the *Per-*
cian war, he praised the Gods that if any calamity
 were comminge to the Citty of Rome, that they
 would rather lay the same vpon his house which
 either through his prayer or hap was perfourmed
 And when of his four sones he had adopted two
 into the family of *Scipio*, within few daies after he
 lost thother, neither did he with lesse patience bere
 this, then valiantly he wished the other *Tynnichus*
 also a *Spartayn* left his posterity, a monumente of
 worthy ensample. **When** *Trasibulus* his sonn in the
 warres against the *Argiui*, was slayn, in this epi-
 gram, is declared the nobility of his mynde.

*It semeth well that cowerds wepe, when they be brought to graue
 But thou my son a Spartain true, no weping teares shalt haue.*

He hath as mee thyncketh folowed the sayinge of
Papinius.

*A noble death doth parentes please, and God such soules do loue.
 The valiaunt myndes do gayn encrease, when lyfe do so remone.*

We see that some haue not onely in the death of
 their childzen witnessed their greatnes of mynde,
 but also did procure it, and thereof procured great
 profit. **When** *Brutus* openlye punished hys twoo
 sonnes, what terro? thinke you was it to his Citi-
 zens? what desperation to his enemies? what ad-
 miration to his neighbours? So as the example
 of that valiant deede, was not only the occasion
 of great encrease to the empyre, but also, for fortye
 yeares after it contynued in libertye not so much

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for feare of the payns, as for emulation in vertue.

What is by the ensample of *Abraham* vpon *Isaac* shewed other then that men shoulde so loue their children, as in them to put no truste at all? but euer to honour God so, as we may forget our children, and such are worthy great reward. For which his carefull obedience he is made father of many nations, neither shall his seede at any time decaye. This was a greater argumente of courage then that of *Brutus*, for hee murdered the gill:lesse & leste the children of others his heires, the other in slaying, became childles. Hee by the handes of another commaunded his enemies to be slayne, this man murdered those that obeyed. But let vs returne to ensamples of sufferance, and a shame (it were) that women shoulde for fortitude exceede men. Amonge whom what may be sayd of *Tomyris* queen of *Massagetes*, who hauing her sone slaine in battayle, (wherein her enemye *Cyrus* also dyed) without teares made great feastes, the hole army likewise slaine. Also *Cornelia* mother to the *Gracchi* of a great number of sonnes, hauinge onely *C.* and *T.* leste, yet when they were in a time of sedition, most cruelly slayn (besides calling only to memory their father, & their owne worthy actes) did not otherwise make any shewe of sorrowe. *Argilion* the mother of *Brasidas* the *Lacedemonian* king, hearing her sonne was slayn, dyd neyther mourne nor lament, but asked if nobly & worthely he died. *Cyrtias* likewise a woman of *Lacedemon* when her sonne was brought home almost dead, and his frendes lamented she sayd. *Nō silebitis inquit?* Declaringe of
what

what bloud he was descended: she sayd one body
 hath ouerthrowē other in fight, yet after being re-
 couered & growen to mans state was slain in bat-
 tle, which being told vnto his mother, she answer-
 ed saying was it not expedient y going to y wars
 he should slea others, and be slayne himselte? but
 more wyllingly I receyue knowledge of a death
 worthy of me & his predecessors, the if in sloth &
 idlenes he had liued. One other womā more vali-
 antly bare the death of her sonne in the fyeelde say-
 inge, let cowardes complayne, for I wyll wyth-
 out teares and meerely bury my sonne. And ano-
 ther (a woman also of *Lacedamon*) hauinge lost in
 warres her fiue sonnes, standinge vpon the wal-
 les of *Sparta* and listninge for the euent of the bat-
 taile, when she sawe a man comming, asked what
 was done? (he thinking she had asked of her son-
 nes) answered, they are all deade: whereat the
 woman offended, sayde, it is not (that) ill lucke I
 aske, but how speedes our coutry? then he telling y
 the victoꝛye was gotten by the *Lacedemonians*, the
 woman sayd wyth al good will I receiue know-
 ledge of my sonnes slaughter. In olde tyme such
 was the nobility of minde, both in men and wo-
 men, as well for courage as counsell. But nowe e-
 noughe or rather as I thinke to much haue bene
 sayd as wel of them, as also appertaint to death.
 It is not therefore needeful to speake of frendes,
 kinsfolke, or wiues, seynge of them the plentye is
 great, the conditions vncerteyne, and the necessi-
 tyte little: yea the cares and disquiet, of wiues, doe
 almost counteruayle the sorow of theyr deatges.

Sorroye for
 freendes and
 viues.

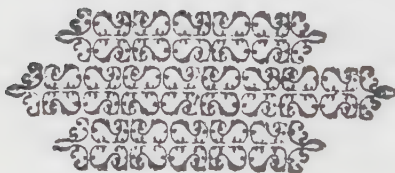
And

The seconde booke of

And thoughe wyues were not threwed nor comber some, yet can no man at any tyme longe want a wyfe, sith one may be taken after an other. And albeit y wyues were all good, all frennds faythfull, and all kinsfolke kynde, yet seinge the death of a byot her, a sonne and a father is pacientelye to bee bozne, a foyle it were to lament them, oz call such doubtles matters in question. But rather resolute wyth thy selfe, that death is the end of euill to foolles, and to wyse men the beginnynge of all good. And as sayth *Menander*.

Whome God doth loue: in youth he dyes.

FINIS.



OF COMFORTE

the thirde Booke.



With longer then was determi-
 ned, & moze at large haue I dys-
 coursed that kynde of comforte
 which to sorow and death doth
 appertayne: not only because I
 thincke y^e occasion of griefe whi-
 che groweth eyther of pryuate
 Death or losse of frendes is little, or lightl^ye bozne:
 but also y^e in these daies men do so much desyre rit-
 ches & auctority, as til death doth euē at hād draw
 on, they take no care at all. Eche man in imagina-
 tion alloweth hymselfe longe tyme of lyfe, disday-
 ning death as a thinge not knowen in this, but an
 other world. But ritches, and present auctority,
 are on euerye side sought for, as ioyes which be e-
 uerlastinge. Yet not contented with this, they al-
 so reprove, condemne, and despise the quyet lyfe of
 such as are not wth like madnes delighted. For the
 chiefest care such men do take, is y^e of al other they
 may be accōpted most wise and happy: neither of
 whiche (in iudgement of those that disdayne them)
 can be allowed. Then when these wealthy men
 perceiue that the others are not greatly greued,
 forthwith they fall to hate and persecutiō. So as
 although men could willingly suffer theyr bare e-
 state: yet beinge driuen into any kind of necessity
 or calamity, straight waies they lament and com-
 plaine: so as by confession of them, for great desyre
 of

The thyrd booke of

of ritches, the ritch men are allowed of and pray-
sed for the wisest sort of men. But seinge the estate
of tyme and worldely procedinges are not euer a-
like, we meane not to speake much of that calami-
ty which these ambitious men do thinke the grea-
test, but of that misery which may so truely be cal-
led : for such kinde of men do labour to continue
after death, and glory in theyr owne happines. As
the Poet wytyng vpon the tombe of a certayne
happy man sayde.

*Vpō my corps poure forth thy wyne, O frend that comes this way,
And on my tombe wyth pleasānt hand, thy precious spices lay.
No gulfe of grieve my graue shalbe, but springe of lastinge blis,
I am not dead but changd my life, to such my fortune is,
My former ioyes are not decayd, but as they were, before,
If aught or naught I beare in mynde, yet blest for euermore.*

¶ merve man, howe aptly hath hee nothyng
sayde, for this presumption to continue felicity af-
ter death, is a thyng altogether vaine, and forsa-
ken of the very authoꝝ thereof. For weill wee see
that after death, the glory of ritches doth in short
space decay. Not onely because great numbers do
dayly aspyre to this praise : but also ritches it selfe
deserueth no glory at all. And amonge so manye
thousād thousāds as in their tyme were famous-
ly ritch, yet few of them haue come to our know-
ledge. *Gilius, Crassus, Mydas, Pythius, Meæder, Ericto-
nius, Sisyphus, Tantalus.* Of the Romaines that had
beene bond men, *Amphion, Menecrates, Hieron, De-
metrius, Pallas, Calistus, Narcissus.* Of freemen,
Drusus, Cæcilius, Sylla, Lucullus, Liuius, M. Crassus. Of
Kinges, *Salamon and Ptolomeus,* were all reported
for

Onely for rit-
ches fewe men
gayne glory,

for notable ryche. But *Gylias* became famous for liberalitie, *Cresus* and *Crassus*, for theyr mylfortune, *Sylla* & *Lucullus* for their victories, *Mydas* throughe *Silenus*. The Romaynes that had bene bond men by the abuse and riot of Rome: *Salamon* for wyse-dome, *Tantalus* for wicked lyfe, *Meander* and *Pythius* for theyr bountye to the *Persian* kynges. *C. Calius* for his Testament: *Ptolomeus* for princely maiesty, *Eriotonius* and *Sysiphus* through Poets libertye. *L. Drusus* for hys magnificence. So as none almoste for only riches gayned glozy: although they were such mē as might easilier attaine to fame for vertue, then so greate riches. To what vse that after death riches should serue no man knoweth, nor cā imagine. And although that after death they dyd yelde glozy to thee and vse to others, yet the same is to thee nothinge at all. Rather ought thou remember to passe into those partyes, whether thou can carry nothinge besydes thy vertue and byres of mynde, whensoever therefore thou shalt dye, wyll come to memozy not thy ritches, but thy sinfull offences, not thyne honour or auctorite, but thy hope and fayth of Saluation. For at that instant (I omit thy former miseries) all thinges shalbe subuerted, & to thy sight the hole worlde shalbe turned to the fyrste *Chaos*. And as the lande doth seeme to moue in the sight of such as saile in y ship (a yct in deed doth nor) but it is the ship that remoueth & not the land: so in the houre of death shall the whole worlde seeme to be subuerted, whē thou shalt for euer take leaue of earthlye lyfe, neuer as gayne to see thy worldly frendes, nor thy ryches
wherin

The thyrde booke of

wherein thou so much delighted: Therefore if after death thou hopest of any lyfe, why dost thou not consume thy time in vertue? or if none? yet why seekest thou not thyne owne quyet? syth for other lyfe thou lokest not, nor hopest to returne agayne to this. But happily it may be sarde that this sorrowe is sweete (as it is to rubbe a soze) A pleasure it is to be rich, to gouerne, to be praised and to oppress others, and thys is the vttermost marke of mans felicity. O foolish imagination: but let that passe, so thou disproue not others of sundry opinion. Yet if without offence I may so do, let mee aske whye men lyke vnto chyl dren do builde houses that wil by and by fall downe? why doe they baynely trauayle, not onely in bodye, but also in minde? Yet let vs a whyle conuert our speach to other matter (for I am enforced in anye wayes to digresse from our purpose) and let vs fyrst declare why my former booke became so longe: and there withall shewe that for all calamities (if any seme intollerable) there is one remedy. It was therefore with great diligēce approued that death is not to be nombred among the euils: for syng the meane to come thereunto is open to all men, none (but such as willingly are) can iustly be called vnhappy. *Tiberius* suruaynge his prysoners, was asked by one of them howe sene hee shoulde dye? answered: I am not as yet reconcyled vnto thee. A true aunswere surely in respect of the matter, but tyrannous if thou consyder the meanynge. And this was one other cause why my last booke was y longer. For against al sortes of miseries thre speciall

Against al miseries three remedies.

ciall remedyes we haue, Death, Misedome, and Fortune. They are cōmonly constrainned to vse þ helpe of Death, that cannot take comodity of the other two, being fallē into those calamities which seeme the greatest. Wherefore *Damidas* the *Lacedemonian* seemed discretely to aunswere one saying vnto him, that vnlesse the *Lacedemonians* were reconciled to *Philippus*, they shoulde be in greate hazarde (for at that time the *Lacedemonians* were the kinges ennemyes, who had wonne *Peloponesus*.)

¶ A cowardly man quoth *Damidas* what can be intollerable to vs if we feare not to die? In like manner a boie of *Lacedamon* being taken by *Antigonus*, and solde. in seruice meete for free men, dyd willingly yelde himselfe to take paines, but when he was employed to vile workes (amonge the rest, to empty vrynals) he refused to do it. For which, whē his master did sore threātē him, he forthw̄ climed vpon the toppe of the house and sayde. now shalt thou knowe whom thou hast boughte, and therewithall cast himselfe downe headlonge. So *Crassus* beinge taken prysoner and fearinge dishonour, with his ridinge rod he strake out the eye of a barbarous souldyoure, who moued w̄ ire forthw̄ wyth did slea hym. A common experience it was in þ old time, by willing death to eschewe longe or shamefull kinds of dyng. And if I shoulde wyte the names onely of such as in the raygues of *Nero*, *Caligula*, and *Tiberius*, did willingly kill themselves, the history would be to longe, or if I reherled the nomber, no man woulde beleue mee. Nowe whylest we speake of these voluntary deathes, it cometh

To him that
feareth no
death, nothing
intollerable.

The thyerde booke of

cometh to memoire, that nat longe since in the City of *Venis* their liued acertain Apothicary who for some great offence beinge condemned to dye, desyred to speake wyth his brother, who in kissing hym deliuered certayne poyson which he brought in his mouth closed wth a nut shel, by force whereof, after a few houres he dyed: whereby he saued himselfe from longer sorrow, and eschewed the reproch of dishonourable death. We read that some men to auoyde extreame sickenes, haue voluntarily ended their liues: of which number was *Pomponius Atticus*, a famous man extremely tormēted wyth a greuous disease, & at length findinge some rest, pyned himselfe for not falling into his former paynes. In lyke maner dyed *Corellus Rufus* to auoyde the paynes of the goutte. But our Lawes do not permit any mā to procure hys owne death and for good reason: for that nothinge should be intollerable to a Chyrtian man (onely extreame torment) which the Lawe doth not allowe, yet by law is permitted. Now let vs proue y^e besydes this intollerable sorrow (and y^e not all together except) there is nothing that cā make a man discouraged, and that all men beinge wyse, are equally happy and unhappy. So as I may thincke with *Socrates*, y^e if all mens cares and euils were by one assent layde togethers on one heape, and equally deuided to euery man alyke, after wee had seene the greatnes of others greefes, we would chouse to take vppon vs our owne, rather then to abyde the chaunce in deuision: because each man knoweth his owne euils, and is ignozant how great the greifs

All men equally happy and unhappy.

greues of others be, which is the reason why eche mā thinketh himsele most vnhappy. In discourse whereof two thinges maye bee objected: the one, & this booke can onely profite those that be learned: and also withoute this, the learned by readinge of *Cicero*, chieflye his bookes, *De finibus bonorum*, his *Tusculane questions*, his *Paradox* and *De Senectute* *Plutarchus*, *Petrarchus* & *Bætius*, with diuers others, shal fynde no small remedye in al calamities. And how shall the symple and vnlearned sort (as is the most part of the people and many gentlemen also) take profite of this booke? So as in comfortinge the learned I shall seeme presumtuious and for the vnlearned superfluous. But I neede not feare to be herein accused, because (as at the beginning I sayde) my other bookes wer made for others vse, but this onely for my selfe, which thoughe it cannot compare with the eloquence of *Cicero*, the grauitye of *Plutark*, the subtilty of *Petrark*, or Philosophy of *Bætius*, yet is wel lyked of my selfe, for that reason I alledged at the beginninge in children, & every one loueth his owne worcke. Yet haue we erred? who knoweth it not? but those errors are tolletable whiche harme not others, and proceede of nature. The other wherof I muste accuse my selfe, is, that some wyll happelye saye, that when a man enioyeth health, he maye easelye counsell the sycke: whyche is as muche as to perswade wyth bayne wordes, that in workes we do not perform, and therefore in speache onelye doe make a shew of vertu. Of which blame *Cicero*, *Plutarchus*, *Petrarcha* and *Aristotle* himselfe do excuse me, because they

I

extolled

The thirde booke of

extolled magnanimitie & yet in aduersitie did not
shewe it and chiefly *Cicero*, who of all others de-
clared hymself most base and abiect of minde. The
others endured, no greate aduersity, for besydes a
little tyme in banishmente they liued ryche and fa-
uoured wyth Princes, and that worthele. Also it
is not requisite that all good men, though they be
valiaunt of minde with peril of their persons should
put their valure in prooffe, the one is a tryall, of for-
tune, the other of vertue. Neyther is it euer neces-
sarie that such as saye well, shoulde also liue well,
for truth sometimes is maintained by wicked mē.
But although by dissēbling I might escape these
reprehensions: yet where I say that for allaye of
myne owne grieve this labour is taken in hande,
hardly it is allowed in reason that they that haue
alwayes liued in prosperity, can aptly perswade o-
thers comforte in aduersity. For if a man woulde
so do, yet were there small good likely to followe.
This booke shall therefore gayne the more credite
wyth others, that I my selfe haue bene in misery.
And although (as erst I said) euery mā may praise
vertue, yet is it not the part of those y^e bee honeste,
to direct a life contrary to their owne wordes.
How can we leade the like lyfe, either in fortitude
or pacience, or declare y^e same to other, if we haue
alwayes liued in prosperity? Therefore should I o-
mit y^e greatest & most necessarye part of this booke
If I leaue vntolde, y^e (as I thinck by deuine desti-
nye) I was begotten, born, & brought vp, in great
misery, & so haue almost til this day liued. For such
as do perswade others to susteyne great payne, if
they

they themſelues haue done the lyke, thereby they procure their wordes both credit & aucthority to be the rather beleued of others. So did *Aristides, phocion, Socrates, Plato, Cato*, al the Prophetes and holy men, yea y aucthor of al good *IESVS CHRIST*. Yet haue I not induced theſe worthy menne becauſe I woulde ſeeme to contend with them in vertue, but rather followe theyr order of lyfe. And the more baſely I was bozne, the more may others (if they wil) hope to excell my patience in aduerſitye. You ſhall therfore fyrſte vnderſtand, that in y tyme of peſtilence I was conceaued. my mother as I thincke (vnderliuered became partakar of my miſery & was forced to flye. The 8 Daye of the Kalendar of October, in the yeaere of Grace .1501. halfe deade came I into this world, when all men diſpairing of life, by vertue of a bath made of vyne I was receaued: within thre monethes next after I loſte two of my bretheren & on ſiſter, the plague continuinge in our Citty. The ſicknes ſpreadyng more abrode in *Padua*, ſodenly of y ſame death died my foſter father. Afterwardes I was boldly and charitably receiued into y hãdes of *Iſiodorus Reſta* a noble gentleman & frende to my father, where after ſew dayes I fel ſicke diſeaſed wyth the dropſye and flure of the liuer, yet neuertheleſſe preſerued eyther through the ire or mercie of G O D, I knowe not: no kynde of ſicknes was afterwarde vnapproued, tyl I attained eyght yeaeres of age. At which time I became ſeruaunte to my father, till I attayned the age of ninetene. O Lord euen thus I paſſed the flower of my youth both with-
I ii. out

The thirde booke of

out delight and studie. At length perceauing that by force I myghte not compel my father, entreate hym I could not, and to deceaue hym I thought it dishoneste: for loue of learninge I intended to haue entred into Religion. My mother then seeing her wante of children, entreated my father to put me to schole, where I remēbyng my time already lost, and the shortnes of mans lyfe, earnestly applyed my selfe to study, euer in feare least my father hearing some euill repoxte should take me awaye. And there as one neuer in schole before, I was not a litle troubled wryth hardnes of the latine tongue. Yet amonge all these laboures my father did graunt me leaue to studie the Science of Geomatty & Logick, wherein although he helped me onely wth a few good lessons, booke & liberye, yet through study at spare tymes I did attaine vnto them. Then absence increasynge my fathers good opinion, the plague beyng greate he dyed, hauyng newlye begonne to loue me. At that tyme y^e cruel warres began in our countrey, beyng poore and voyde of all other helpe, through greate care & diligence of my mother I was sustayned, when my small patrimonye sufficed not. For suche as it was, I did consume it in the office of Rector in the Uniuersitye. Neyther hadde I any other meane then Chesse playe to procure my selfe a living.

So beyng from one misfortune to another transported, I settled my selfe in the town of *PAVIA*, where by practice of Philosophie (though poorelye I sustayned my selfe and my familie, as on that besydes I had nothing) was indebted by reason
of

of my bayne office. Then by my mothers letters was I called home to my country, where I found nothyng well ordered, nor no frende, my cosyns sued in lawe agaynste me and in our Colledge of Physicians I was repulled, beyng suspected a bastard because my father did so euill entreate mee. Neyther can I boast of any fauour founde in the Physicians of *Padua*, where hauing twayne deserued to haue bene made Doctoure, I was not withstandinge vniustlye denyed my grace and at laste through the earnest suite of the Podestate, scantly graunted. A shamefull act, if myne own euil fortune, and not their lewdnes did offer me so great iniury. Then dyspayning of al good, I fell into that sicknes whiche wee cal Consumption, a sycknesse (as the Physicians say) incurable. And yet (whether through good prayer or for other purpose preserued) after seuen monethes wout healpe of Physicians and beyond all expectation I escaped. Consider now what cares, what sorow and vexation my mynd endured: whē on the one side mine own great pouerty, & on y other my mothers vniuldge age was considered. Besydes this, y frowardnes of my frendes, the wrong as I thoughte of Physicians, the threatninge of a great mā, the dispaire of health, lacke of frendes, and want of abydynge place, did altogether molest me. I wanted wherw to liue: labour I could not, and to beg I thought it shamefull. Amids so many calamities wherein to vnfrendly fortune, the hardnes of my father the mispyknyng of kynsefolke, & the mysery of the time had cast me, through good counsel I eschewed (at

The thirde booke of

least wise (the presence of my miseries by reforming
to the Citty, where many frendes did comfort and
helpe mee and throughe Gods grace sodenlye I
escaped my sickenes. Afterwardes to meete with
my disorder of sickenes I vbled abstinence against the
affliction of fortune, patience agaynst pouerty, spa-
ring, against suite, diligence, against repulles, y^e stu-
die of learning. And alwayes from the beginning
tyl this tyme, this booke (though not then writtē)
yet conceyued, did greatly comfort mee. Thus re-
turned to my Countrey I founde my Mother in
health. Before which time euen til this day hauing
suffred manye myseryes (perhappes to others in-
tollerable) by disdayne I ouercame them all. First
I was releued and defended by my good Patron
the reuerend bishoppe *Philippus Archintus* both for
vertue and learninge, a wyse and worthe man.
After throughe commendatyon of that excellent
Prince *Alphonfus Auolus*, (to whome I dedicated
my booke *De Aeternitatis Arcanis*) I was by pro-
curement and singular fauoure of *Franciscus Sfon-*
dratus the noble Senatoz chosen into the order is
the good lykinge of euery honest man, beyng then
almost fortye yeares of age. Such hath bene the
course of my lyfe, crased with continuall & greate
calamities. Whereunto what my studie hath
helped, you may coniecture. As for greater giftes
of fortune I did contemne them, with like mynde
that I suffered all offered iniuries. Wherefore to
the continuance of my life and recovery and quiet,
I haue not obtayned of God any thinge more pro-
fita-

fytable, then patience: for by vertue thereof amidst my greatest miseries, I found fauoure and help in the yrm of whom I neuer hadde any good deserued. For *Franciscus Bonafidus* a good and saythfull Philition, so stoutly defended my cause agaynste the wrong of the Philityngs of *PADOA*. as no brother, for a brother would haue done more.

Great assistance didde I also fynde in *Franciscus Cruceius* a most vprighte Lawier, my sute depending in the Citty of *Mylan*: who was also the occasion why in diuers thinges teaching, wyting, and inuentinge, I bestowed much trauayle. And albeit a mynd vnmoled may best do al other thinges: yet haue I found that inuention requireth a quiet mynde, which may appeare by dyuers & sondry my Bookes. &c.

But of my selfe perhappes I haue to muche spoken, not in myne owne commendation, but for examples sake. For what prayse canne base parentage bee, the dysplease of my father, frendes, and Countreie, my healt he hyndered, my fortune vnfrendly, myne estate pooze, and nexte to beggary: who so therfore doth thinke me to haue spokē al this for glozy whiche tendeth rather to shame must nedes condempne mee of greate follye.

And he wil thynke mee vtterly vnwyse, who soeuer iudgeth mee to haue spoken these thinges for ostentation, which are rather matters to be ashamed of it (leauing our purpose) we yelde to the common opinion of others. But it was myne intente by one example to teache these three thynges.

The thirde booke of

Fyrst y without a conscience guilty of euil, no mā is miserable. Secondly, y the valiancy of mynd doth greatly helpe, not onely to contentacion, but also to procure the mutacion of fortune. Lastly that y reading of this booke was profitable both to perswade vnhappy men wryth paciente mynde to suffer aduersity, & those that be happy in their owne oppinion to be modest and continent. Besides that (as is already said) though mē do wāt this or such lyke bookes to reade, yet shall they in their misery be depyued of al comfort? surely no. For so should we take vpon vs a thing almost deuine. Because this onely is necessarye to saue thee from misery, y thou perswade thy selfe thou art not miserable. Which rule in one worde may be taughte and learned of euery man. And whosoever shal not conceiue this reason which is available to perswade y wyse, the let them reade this or some suche booke as necessary. But the simple sort, & cōmon people, beleuing this rule, nede not these reasons which our law of lyfe doth also approue. But suche as would instruct others, may receaue of this Booke some profite, though I vntaught haue wyttē it onely to my self, & being vbled to demōstrations, haue beleued what foloweth death: yet that here on earth should be neyther felicity, nor misery, onely by reason of auncient wyrters I coulde not proue. I thought therfore expediēt not only to reduce their sayings together, but also. to ad thereunto what soeuer I coulde. Wherefore to begin at the discomfortities of pouerty, seyng the burden of them seemeth to some intollerable, and as *Menander* affirmeth

Perswade thy
self not to be
in misery

Pouerty.

Cardanus comferte. 69.

meth. No burden is moze heauye then pouerty,
And on the contrarpe parte Riches haue alwaygs
bene had in pvice. The sayinge of the Poet is yet
vnchaunged.

*Now wealth doth wield the world, and wealth doth worship gaye
Yea wealth doth win the frēds at wil, the pore ech wher coplain.*

But nowe let vs not at all aduentures, but or-
derly as we can (because it containeth many poin-
tes) enter into oure matter. fyrst wee must proue
that the pore man is no lesse happye then the riche.
Secondly that pouerty is no impediment to glo-
rye. Thirdly that there is nothing moze hurtfull
to a pooze man then to desyre to become ryche.

Fourthlye that after death riches doth neither pro-
fyte the dead man noz his posterity, and to the first
part this I say, that to a pore common weale the
felicity is moze thē in the riche, there is euer found
lesse hate, lesse ambition, and lesse disorder.

A pore man as
happye as a ryche

Titus Linius telieth that albeit the cōmō weale of *Rome*,
was at the beginning afflicted wyth sundry sedi-
cions, yet among so furious a people besydes woꝝ
des nothing was done, so as without iudgement
was executed *Tiberius Gracchus* was the fyrst man
that without law was put to death, fyre hundred
twentye and one yeaꝝ, after the building of that
Citty, euen then newly attayned to some riches.

Plinius witnesseth how great commendacions the
ambassadors of the *Carthaginences* (being enemies
to the people of *Rome*) did giue vnto the *Romains*
foꝝ their mutual loue. But after that riches grew
to estimation in *Rome*, nothing cōtinued in assu-
rance

The thirde booke of

rance, nothinge vndisquieted the people with oue
concorde, the Senate without aucthority, slaugh-
ter without respecte, gouernment without lawe,
wicked lyfe without controlemēt, cōmon persons
without reuerence, youth without bashfulnes, old
men without grauity. All things were prophaned
and mixte, with the diges of slaues and straūgers
frō hence sprong by y fruite of all myschief wher-
by it appeareth playne, that misery followeth the
footsteps of ryche common weales, and quietnesse
procedeth from pouertye. The *Lacedemonians* lyke-
wise while they liued almost in beggery were glo-
rious and happy.

In wytnes wherof we fynde that when the kyng
of *Persia* did send certain ambassadoꝝ to *Lacedemō*,
they were there through fury of the people robbed
and slayne. There was in *Lacedemon* a temple of
Talthibius, *Agamemnons* cryer, a sanctuary for am-
bassadoꝝ, which vppon a tyme not yelding to the
sacrifycers, any lucky prophesies (for that was ta-
ken for a religion) it moued the penytente *Lacede-*
monians that in stede of the ambassadoꝝ slaine, as
many (that is to say two) should offer themselues,
to death. Then *Sparthius* and *Bulis* offered theim-
selues departing thence to *Lacedemon* befoze they
should come to *Xerxes* sonne of *Darius*, (who befoze
had sent the ambassadoꝝ) they came to *Hidernes* y
kinges Leutenant, who entertayning them cour-
teously, after he knew the cause of there comming,
and the gratenesse of theire myndes, perswaded
theym rather to chose the Kinges fauoure, then
death, for *Xerxes* woulde make theym rulers ouer
al

all *Greece*, and that he hymself was one of his *Lords*, whose state he willed them to consider and yf they would follow his counsell, they should not refuse the kynges frendshippe.

Then aunsweread they, thou knoweste not *Hydernes* how ioyfull a thinge the pleasure of libertye is, where of thou euer seruing a kyng hadde neuer prooffe, but if once thou mightest taste thereof, thou wouldest preferre it before al the kingdomes of *Persia*. Suche felicitie hadde these men in theyr Common weales, eyther of pouerty, or at the lest wise with pouerty. And yet was the life of the *Lacedemonians* (as before I sayde) hard, by reason of theyr vse in warres, not wythstandinge, by the benefyte of pouertye (hauinge no moneye at all) so deare to them was libertie, as they esteemed it above a kyngdome.

But omittinge to speake of Common weales let vs inquire of priuate Lyfe, wherein is greater Pleasure, greater Quiet, then in kingdomes, neyther can a kyng bee assured of frendes, neyther can hee fele the chiefeeste sweete of *Venus* ioyes, being in doubt of desembled loue. For wel you know the chief and greatest delight of that pleasure is, to loue and be loued. And how can he know hymselfe beloued, whē feare of power or hope of reward do make the willinge suspected. It is no maruayle therfore that so many doe declare themselues vnthankfull to princes, for they cannot bee accompanied as frendes that eyther for hoope, feare, or daye lyf reward be entertayned. Therefore *Philippus* repproued his sonne *Alexander*, because wyth geuynge

Discommodities of Princes,

The thyerde booke of

geuinge he thought [to gayne the good wil of people. Albeyt þe lyfe of prynces is most noble, yet wātinge loue and fryndship by no meanes can bee accounted happy, because they are to seeke of such benefytes as do nearest approch the happynes of mortal men. But let vs now consyder that although in these thinges they were equal to poze men, whether then the lyfe of Prynces, or common persons, were more pleasaunt. The poze man ryling early, after his handes be washed, resorte to his labor, where hauing a whyle exercised him selfe (besydes the helpe of his hongry supper the nighte before) wth his fellow in laboure, where with hongry Sauce they sauoure all sortes of meate, whatsoeuer cometh to hand semeth pleasaunt, dilicate, and precious. In dyninge tyme, they common of pleasaunt matters, and tell what hoope hee hath of tyme to come. This company breedeth no discention, this dyet causeth no sacietie, no disdayne, no suspicion. The diner ended, after pawsing a whyle, they retorne to accustomed labor, wherein they get good appetite to supper. There beyng met, they wante no myrth, gētle icastes, and pleasaunt tales, according to the quality of the guests, Thē to bed they goe, whereunto preparing themselves, the shyning Starres doe stirre them vp to loke to heauen, and remember that at length they shall come into that most blessed country, promising in mynde (if anye thyng were sinfully done) thamendment of theyr offences. Thus wearyed with long labor by day so sone as he cometh in bed, sodenly he falleth in to sound sleape. In suche a sort liuinge the simple
man

A pore mans
Life

man gaineth healthy and longe lyfe nexther troubled with repentaunce of passed tyme, nor feare of that wyll after followe. When holy dayes do happen he resteth his weary bo nes. Then wandreth he at wil, and if ought there be in towne pleasante or worthy sight, he may without offence see it.

He betweth the suburbs, the grene fyeldes & meadowes, he meteth hys companions & taketh each where his dispozte. He myndeth no displeasing imaginations, he ioyeth in lyfe, and liueth prepared for death. And if happely he be learned, maye bee somewhat the more accomted happy.

But the Princes lyfe is cleane cōtrary. Hee hauing shaken of hys yesterdaies surfyte ryleth bppe, his mouth not well in taste, but on the one syde offend

A Princes
life

ded wyth vnswete sauour of his own stomacke, on the other distempered with euill rellesse. Then assemble on euery hand his Garde, souldiars, seruantes, parasytes, flatterers, and suters, his men swarme aboute hym, they exclaime, cry out & cōplayne, because al thinges are out of good order.

The porters kepe backe the importunate people, & some perhappys they promise lybertye to passe in.

And if the prynte be of good disposition secretly he examineth his affayres, which synding to be infinite in number, he lotheth his own lyfe. For some thinges he dyspayreth to bringe to passe: and some thinges he hath greate care of. Now he blameth & infidelieye of some persons. Now he accuseth the flouth of others, how he syndeth fault with some mens couetyse. Now he forcasteth some necessa-
rtye matters. Now he heareth prayers. Now hee
harke.

The thirde booke of

harkeneth to suites wherein y more attentive he is, the moore is his trouble, and care of mynde, so at last he referreth all to hys Counsaile.

Thus you se that as to a prynce nothing is displea-
saunte, so doth he nothing wpyth pleasure. When
diner tyme commeth, then is hee solemplye serued
wpyth Dishes, Platters, Cuppes, Carpets, Wyne,
Sallets, Sauce, meate, bread, Dainties of strange
deuise and al sortes of princely prouision. But be-
yng thus settled at meat, eyther he hath no compa-
ny at al or hauing, they bee commonly inferiours,
and forced therfoze to be placed farre beneath hym
who though outwardly merrilye disposed, yet in-
wardely loden with many cares. And as the Poet
sayth.

*Wythin whose fearefull face the palenes did appeare,
of great and greuous loue.*

But now to retorne to a kyng who fed wpyth de-
licate dayntyes and clothed in ryche robes (beyng
glutted wpyth yesterdaies cheare) doth neither tast
his meate, nor take pleasure in sight of any thinge
he can beholde. But lothed withall dilicalye, hee
leaneth backe looking rounde about, and at length
chooseth some one meate that leaste doth offende
hym. And admitte he could take delight in eating
or drynking, should that muche pleasure him: sure-
lye no: Because all hee doth is ioynd wpyth the sus-
picion. He feareth his meate, his drynck, his stole,
his Chayze, his Trenchoure, his napkin, and knife
foz in euery of thevnt may be secreete payson what
pleasure can eatyng be beset with so manye suspy-
cions

cions? Were it not better to Suppe with simple
 salletes, rootes, and fruite, then wyth all these rich
 dishes, and daungerous delicates? what can bee
 woorse then suspicion, where perill maye also lurke
 and feare is neuer awaye? which *Dionysius* by good
 ensample proued. For whan *Damocles* had longe
 flattered hym (as parasites doe alwayes followe
 Tyrantes) for pꝛooꝛe of suche felicity he caused *Da-*
mocles to put on his princely apparell placed him in
 his owne princely chaire, and set befoꝛe him al the
 pompe, ioyes, and riches of *Siracusa*: whiche done
 by a smal thꝛede he hanged ouer his heade a sharpe
 swoꝛde naked which *Damocles* seynge, he durst not
 stretch out his arme, noꝛ make any motiō to carue
 hymselfe of those dilicates whiche were set befoꝛe
 hym, but fynding himselfe on euery side beset with
 feare, he prayed *Dionysius*, to deliuer him from this
 royal feast, where he learned so much as neuer af-
 ter he desyꝛed to become a kynge. Moreouer to
 speak of a pꝛynces lyfe. Whē he hath royally & sūp-
 tuously dined and all his dishes with greate cere-
 mony taken away, in cometh iesters, iuglers &
 minstrels: som they craftely flatter, some thei back-
 bite, & some they seke to disgrace: som fal to laugh-
 inge, & some to mopping & mowing, while others
 do sound the instruments. In euery of which acti-
 ons, y moꝛe kyndlye a man playeth the parasite the
 moꝛe he is allowed of. During these doinges the
 pꝛince wꝛ fayned cheare, museth on other matters,
 moꝛe wayghtye: and happelye occasioned by some
 aduertilementes wyꝛtten bnto him to counsel hee
 goeth: where many matters be called in question
 ney

The thirde booke of

Neither pleasaunt to be hard nor good in the execution. Because some are vniust, some euill, & some perilous. Such displeasent imaginations a king hath, now he fyndeth offence, now he discovereth treasons, now feeleth ingratitude, now he reaueth suspicion, now he discovereth errour, and euill proceeding of ministers, and now he fyndeth & in fydelity of pynces. Hys mynde thus molested, he sigheth & soroweth hoping to remoue the memory of such imaginations, perhaps he hunteth, rydeth, or beholdeth others ryding. Whither forth the people run, and byng that to mynd whiche he would willingly haue left vnthought of. Then after speache of sundry matters, to supper he goeth, whereof he fyndeth the lyke anoye that his diner did offer him. At length to bed, where before sleape he museth of many displeasent matters, how many men are or must bee executed, though not altogether iustly, yet necessarily, what practises are made, what feare, what enuye, what iniury, what warre, what spoyle, what subuersion of Cittyes, what suspicion of death, and last of al desyreth ether not to be or els to enioy a more quiet lyfe.

And thus from one fancie to another, he turneth & tosseth his mynde, yet in the ende fyndeth al thinges so confuse, as nothing is assured or parmanēt, & thus hee desireth to sleape, whiche is not easlye had his stomacke beyng ouercharged wyth a surtytting supper. And admitte hee doth sleap, in sleapyng he meteth vnquiet ymaginacions, fearefull dreames & visions. Though his bed be riche, softe & delicate, yet his rest oft tymes hard and short.

What

What life is this then so full of cares and anritye of mynde. And as *Antigonus* answered his sonne *Demetrius* telling him, that more mildye hee behaued him selfe towarde his subiectes, then stood with his honour? O sonne (quod hee) thou knoweste not that a kyngdome is nothing elles then a glorious seruitude. So *Tymolion* the moste happye of all the *Gretian* Dukes, sayde that princes were the ministers and seruaunts of many. Besides al these cares which kinges are combyed wth ali suche, as are tyzantes bee occupied with incest, rape, murder of innocentes, poyson, threathinges, violence, tozmentes, and sacrilige, yea feare and suspicio are on euerye syde at hand. As many there be whom a tiraunt feareth as are those that liue in feare of him, which the verse of *Laberianus* agaynst *Cesar* the Dictator doth wel set forth, saying.

O, force he must feare many, whom dayly many feare

What gard is so vigilynt as cā defend him? He suspecteth his wife, his childre, his paramour, his cupbearer, his barbar. A misery sure to great to be wished to enemyes, or the most wicked persons. But now I see much hath bene sayd of felicitye though confusely. Let vs therfore at length more inparticular touch euery onr. And first I say y^e life of a pore mā is longer, more healthy & strong, thē y^e which the rich mē haue, neither do I think y^e any do dout thereof. Onely thre mē I do remēber y^e haue passed the age of a hundred yeares, and al they almost beggers, one was a Carpenter, the other Apothecary

A riche mans
life.

The thirde booke of

carpe, and the thirde a plowman. How can hys lyfe be long that liueth in lust, idlenesse, and surfitting, wherof richmen do scarcely eschew any one. How differing therfore be the orders of mens liues the one in abstinence and exercise, the other in banquettinge and euil rule. Euer continuinge in idlenes or preposterous labour, watching by night, & sleeping the day? Hereof commeth dropsies, consumptions, and goutes to rytchmen: But what poozeman almost doth complayne of them? The complexion of their faces dooth often tymes also shewe what lyfe they leade. A poozeman & ther whyles hath moze beautifull Chylidren then hath the ritch man, & in hauinge them as fortunate. They many times are barren or haue chylidren very weake and sickly: but poozemen neuer want, yea rather are ouerburdened. And the reason therof apparat. For chylidren are made of their parents seede, which beinge plentyfull geueth the chylde a liuely spyrty and stronge body, both which are encreased by labour. In noble personages it is farre otherwise: if they mete seldome they make many chylidren, but weake ones: if they mete often none at all. But pooze people haue manye chylidren, or not, yet som, & those strong. For which cause *Licurgus* ordeined a good law, & when women were w chylde, they should be enforced to labor. Besydes al this poozemen haue liberty, wherof prynces possesse little. Poozemen do visit euerye place, but prynces may not, and wher they go, great preparation is made. So nothinge is done sodenlye but longe thought vpon. A pryncce is enforced, to tary & leisure
and

and South of his seruantes, to beare with their errors. In sommer not withstanding all prouision he is annoyed with duste. In winter he shonmeth the colde, and yet do feele it. But the pooze man in sommer exerciseth himselfe in the shadow: and in winter with labour driueth the colde away, and that with pleasure. The richman carefully defendeth his own landes, but the poozeman beholdeth all, and the seldomer he hath liberty to se the greater pleasure he hath in seinge. Neither do thou ymagin I saye otherwyse then I thincke: my selfe haue neuer wished any thing lesse thē to haue gardens in the suburbs, for the reason abouesayde, that other mens for their rarenes do more delight and to haue then myne own were nothinge profitable. All men do study to lyue, whych lyuinge the pooze man by labour doth gette, his nature is stronge, hys bodye vncorrupt. But happely thou wylt prefer arte befoze nature, I yelde to thyne opinion. We see that art though not exquisite, doth also helpe pooze men, but to richmen art is an hinderance. And some things which pooze men accompte vyle and base, are with ritchmen had in greate pryce. As lettice, apples, grapes, and radish. And contrary wise ritchmen make none accompt of partrydge, hares, pecockes, and plouers, which pooze men esteeme for excellent delicacies. What choise is there in thinges, when it is only change, that breedeth the dyfference? *Cicero* telleth that Suppyng wyth *Lentulus* hee surfyted of sweete Beetes.

The lyke reason there is to proue that a poze man

It is

sleepeth

The thirde booke of sleepeth more soundly then the rich. And as men saye.

*The grassy flag, the silke more soft
doth yeld the sleepes with great delight:
But stately beds in towers a losse,
the richmans rest with feares, affright.*

The rich man troubleth his minde with cares.
The poore mā careth only by laboꝝ to get his liuing
The richmans cares are earnest & manifold, howe
to kepe his welth, how to bestow it, & which way
to accōpt with his receiuers. The poore mā careth
only foꝝ himself. The rich man is enforced to kepe
others, wherof groweth so great sorow as somti-
mes we read & they haue not onely lāguished, but
also killed themselues. The poore man with losse of
goods is neither so tormēted as he killeth himself
noꝝ so desperat as to occasion others to lay hande
vppon him. On only feare the poore mā hath, whi-
che is, lest he lack wherewith to liue. And yet what
a number of helpes hath hee? ffreendes, aliaunce,
kinssfolke, good men, and hospitalles. Neither shalt
thou almost fynde any vnles they be dishonest, &
can want a lyuing. ffoꝝ who so getteth by arte
any thinge, ought not from day to day spende all,
but euer keepe somewhat in stoꝝe, whych rule ob-
serued, there is no daunger of beggery.

Thus wee see the wantes of poore men manye
wayes supplied. And among the rest a poore man
in time of famine may liue by seruinge the rytch,
who are subiect to such inconuenients as cannot
be eschewed as Imposicion of Pynces, subtiltye
of seruauntes, crafte of heyres, deceite of enemies
and

Poore mens
want manye
waies supplied

and men vnknown. Whereof cam the *Satyre*.

*Som hording vp great heapes of gold not knowing how to vse the.
Lyke sacred stuffe doth store vp wealtb : so folly doth abuse the.*

But who needeth to mernayle oz thinke I haue alledged a fained reason, whē I my self haue sene an hundyed men by sundry meanes through their riches to perish wout fault. Others haue ben poisoned by their familiers, others slain wth the sword, others hanged, some robbed by the waye, as was *Crutius* in our citty, and *Aluisius Donatus* in y^e towne of *Saccensi*. But of such as haue perished through hunger, in my lyfe I haue scarcely seene four, and they not with out fault. For ensample whereof it were superfluous to resit any histories, the prooofe thereof being daily sene. Therefore among so few richmen, seing so many for riches do miscary, and among so many poore men so fewe do perishe for hunger: is not in that respect the condition of rich men much worse then y^e state of the poore? The rich mā prouideth shift of apparel & household stuf, not only needefull, but also burdenous, whych asketh care, keepinge, and dayly reparacion. And yet god knoweth no gold is moze holsome to drinck in the glasse, neither is Siluer moze cleanly, then stone, noz brasse moze mete to boyle in, then the pitchers of earth. Garmentes the moze symple they be, the moze holsome & lesse burdenous. A man cometh into this world naked, he needeth a garment but no burden. The *Romaynes*, and *Lacedemonians*, were at the beginning so basely appareled, as that kinges had them in admiration.

The estate of
the rich vvors
then the poore

The thirde booke of

As touchinge nedeles garmentes what should I say other then as *Socrates* said, beholdinge the wares to be solde in the sayre: How many things are there I neede not? Her accompted them nexte to the Gods that wanted fewest thinges. The gods haue no want to be supplied, & all thinges superfluous is troublesome, chieflie in apparell. Duste doe decay it, water doeth rot it, the theife doeth steale it, thy frende do weare it, the walles do rub it, wearinge doth make it threede bare, thy neighbour doth borrow it and seldome restore it so good as it was lent. What is this apparell, other then a troublesome and burdenous brauery: If thou regarde their beautye, paynted clothes be best, or if thou respect the ambition, that shal hereafter be declared.

But let vs consider whether loue be more towarde the pooze or the rich. A pooze man is simply and truly loued, the richman is either feared or honoured. And if happely he be loued none assurance he can haue thereof. But percase it may be sayde that a richman is more sure fro iniury? surely no. A poozeman may best be reuēged, for nothinge he hath to lose, nor that he feareth to forgoe. The rich man carefull both of life and liuinge suffereth many iniuries. It is magnanimity of minde and no worldly goods y maketh a man to liue in security, yet perchance you saye: A ritche man may most safely offend others. But how? A poozeman perfourmeth his offence alone in person: but the rich man hauing comitted offence (though none other perill were) hath felowes in offendinge and euer feareth

A poore man
most faithfully
loued,

feareth to be by them detected. He hath also champions & ministers to whom he is indebted which I thinck the Poet knewe speakinge of *Domitianus* whom for his cruelty he called *Nero* sayinge in this wyse.

A poore man
fleeft from in-
iuries.

*But would to God he rather had, his time consumed in ioyes,
The cast such care on cruell dedes, or sought such wicked ioyes,
When noble states he pluckt a downe, and men of worthy fame,
His subiects loue forthwith he lost, and gaynd eternall blame.
But when in bloud of simple soules, he bathed his bloudy hande,
Without reuenge he felt the smart, and could no longer stande.
Such guerdon God doth geue, to men of cruell mynde
that seeke the liues of harmlesse folke.*

Then I pray you what hath a rich man better then a poore? Lyfe, health, chyldren meat. Escape, freedom, liberty, security, delight, quiet, garments, benefites, loue, rest, with al other thinges moze desyred. It is therefore no meruayle that *Horacius* sayde.

*Happy is he whome God hath provided sufficientlie
wherewith to lyue.*

He lyueth in best estate that possesseth so much as may mainteyne him to liue, whych as *Aristoteles* sayth is so much as is needefull, for a man & oone person and his womans. The Prophet both witnesseth the same sayinge: O Lord geue me neither riches nor pouerty. And if neede I must decline from the meane Rytches are moze peryllous then pouerty. For pouerty is relieved by industrye and arte, but there is no remedy agaynst the dyscommodities of Rytches.

Riches more
peryllous then
pouerty.

The thirde booke of

Also the fall from riches is great and without recovery, but pouerty discreth little from sufficiency wherewith to liue. In pouerty a man hazardeth only his body, but in vsynge riches both body and Soule is aduentured. Finally if pouerty be removed all inconueniences that it doth bringe, bee also taken awaye. But such as loue riches, they fallinge, doe not withstandinge keepe ityll their imperfections both of body and mynde. Pouerty therefore vndoubtedly is more happy & more assured then riches, yea and more fyt to attayne to glory. For who but pouerty dyd first fynde oute the arts as sayeth. *Theocritus*: O *Diophantes*, Pouerty is the only mistress and inuenter of labor and arte. Surely vnlesse I be deceiued rich men were neuer partakers of this prayse. And when these Artes were inuented, such as had ben in estimation were also poore. And first to begin with Philosophy & flower of al knowledge, the Princes therof were poore men. *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristoteles*, & *Cleantes*, who all night dyt to water, and al day studied Philosophy. But this is the lesse to be meruayled at & *Socrates* (as *Seneca* sayth) beinge in the market and seing a cloake to be solde, taking leaue of his frendes said: sayne woulde I buye that cloake, if I had monye wherewith to do it. The prayse of his death and also all they that enuyed his glorie do witnes hee was almost a begger.

Plato became riche by his second voiage into *Sicilia*, *Aristoteles* longe tyme liued poore, and almoste an olde man was enriched by *Alexander*.

I thynke it needelesse to tell of others as *Homerus*

Cardanus comferte. 77.

merus and *Virgilius* the Lanterne of Poetry, the one a begger, the other a pooze man. The whole route of Gramarians and Oratours were such kinde of men, *Pompilius*, *Andronicus*, *Orbilas*, *Valerius*, *Cato*, *Lanius*, *Iulius Higinus*. The Epistle of *Plinius Caecilius* reporteth *Quintilianus* was meanelly furnished with wealth. *Iuuenalis* mocking *Statius* the Poet sayth he begged.

Unles perhappes some tragedy, he hath in store to sell,
for longer let him pyne.

But now a dayes that rich men can gayne glo-rye in scholes I doubt not. Let vs therefore talke of armes wherein they are no more happy then in learninge. What saye you to *Paulus Aemilius*, who being dead had not left wherof to make his wyfe a dowry. Also *Marcus* and *Sextorius* were Romaines of base condition, yet on the one depēded the safety of Rome, on the other some whyles greate perill. What riches had *Camillus* the terror of the warre? Or *Scipio Affricanus* that for debt had lyen in prison, if *Gracchus* had not helped. *Arator Cincinatus*, *Calatinus Fabritius* that fought wth *Pirrus*, *Valerius Publicola*, *Menenius Agrippa*, *L. Aemilius*, *Aristides*, *Photion*, *Meltiades*, *Cimon*, *Spartacus*, *Viriatius*, all the Dukes of *Lacedemonia*, & as chief of thē *Lisander* were all called from base condition. And who can you alledge against these. the Desperat *Alexander* or *Cesar* the subuerter of his countrey, or rather *Sylla* wth his proscriptions. There is no doubt therefore but that in the iudgement of the discret, pooze men are to be preferred. But now a dayes
throughe

The thirde booke of

through perswasion of parasites, princes doe not traine by Captaynes, but rather buy them. When are not aduanced for vertue but riches and parentage. Wherof it groweth that gouerners, magistrates and chieftaynes, are not appoynted for desert, but through fauor of nobility. And though thereof they get no good, yet this commodity they gaine, & through custome and the smallnes of the number that is aduanced, rich men onely do possesse all dignities, But counsellors cannot erre? And would to God that Princes were no more deceived. For truely they do well in preferringe nobility, yet therewithal to consider that those are worthiest honour, whom vertue commendeth. The one is sufferable, but the other intollerable: when neither vertue nor good parentage, but false flattery is the onely waye to aduancement. And such kynde of men commonly are void both of vertue, learninge and honesty. But nowe I confesse wee haue a little to farre digressed from oure purpose. For more speedy ende of this Booke let vs consider what is the occasion of glorye, seeinge poore men in discipline of warre, learninge, and inuention of artes, do gayne reputation: whether rich men are admitted to glorye in the artes themselves? when in deede they neuer knewe them. But admit that riches are more precious then povertie? Alas what miserie can come from the gods greater then the desyre to haue them: which the more we get, the more it increaseth. It is labour without ende and not unlike the turning of *Sisyphus* stone. Who (as Poets saie) for reuealinge
of

of the secrets of heauē is forced to remaine in hel,
and ther continually to carry a heauy stone to the
top of a steepe hil, which forthwith falleth downe,
but he without ceassing doth follow, and on his
shoulders doth byinge it vp a gaine. Euen so to get
riches is nothinge els then toyle thy body in conti-
nuall trauaile, and exercise thy minde in innume-
rable cares. But admit thy lucke be good: what
happines can it be in thy lyfe if thou canot vse the
wealth thou doest possesse? as *Horatius* wytteth.

*Excedinge care of coyne, doth mortall men begile,
and lone of worldly pelfe, all other ioyes ex ile.*

And if liberallye and bountifully thou wilt vse
them, what a madnes were that with so longe la-
boure to become ritch, and so sodenly to consume
al. The womē called *Danaides* being condemned
to hell for their detestable murther, do suffer there
none other tormente, then continuallie to drawe
water. And admit goodes were wyth labour to
be gottē: whether doest thou desire them for thine
owne vse, or thy posteritye? when in the meane
tyme thou neglectest thy quiet, & pleasure of thine
owne lyfe. Thou shortenest thy daies, and hinder
thy health. Some mē I haue seene lyue a niggard-
ly life, onely to the ende to make themselues a sup-
eruous tombe, and honourable buriall.

Ritches full of
discōmodities.

Which folly & superfluous care *Socrates* laughed
to scoyne, when lying at the point of death he re-
fused a ryche cloake whych *Apollodorus* dyd offer
vnto

The thyerde booke of

unto him. For surely there is among mortall men no bayner care, then the pompe of funerals, which I thinke thou wilt confesse and flee to the commodities of inheritaunce. Thou seekest to leaue thy sonne riche, what heye can bee better? yet in the meane space thou labourest, thou carest, thou watchest, thou hazardest infamy, thou offerest wrong, & chargest thy conscience, to th'ende thy sone may spende, consume, deuoure, & keepe hauock. Whereby he becommeth proude, flouthfull, madde, and in euery respect for his riches the worse. But besides these euilles (alas) howe many enemies are gotten by seekinge of riches? Oftentimes also men doe want a sonne, or hauinge one, he proueth such and of such conditions, as they repent that euer they begot him. And sometimes we see that great inheritaunce is cause of their destruction, whych happeneth most often to the children of Princes, who committed to the gouernemente of others are by them bereft both of kingedome and life: as was Tryphon appoynted to the tuition of *Antiochus*, by whom it was by practise reported, that the childe was greatly diseased wyth the stone, and that he must in any wyse for his onely remedye be cutte: which done Tryphon not passinge the age of tenne yeares, through the onely grife of his wounde, & not otherwyse greened dyed. Cicero in his Orati-
on for *Sextus* & *Roscius*, doth shew what discōmodities his great riches did bring wal: & among the rest (though the greatest) he was accused of murder. But seing among men of meane possessions, wee see theese practises dayly put in bre: it is no
mar-

meruaile to heare that fathers haue spoyled theyr sonnes, sonnes haue slaine theyr fathers, and brothers haue sought the life of brothers, onely to inherite worldly kingedomes. So as the sayinge of the Poet is well verified.

That sayth did neuer longe in Princes court abide.

But to what ende serueth the power of mens riches, yea though it be well gotten? what pleasure doest thou take to haue aboute the number of seruantes and companions? what secret foes arte thou forced to keepe, chaunginge liberty for ambition? For a rich man in deede is none other then a *Peripatitian* god, that is to say confyned by lawes: a seruaunt, yea an improfitable seruaunte. A foolish imagination of man, to yealde hymselfe to so many labours, to muse on so many cares, to attempt so many mischepues, that looseth so many pleasant daies, onely to make his son ritch. Not vnlike the Hopes which fat and fayne, are without vse of sence. constrained to serue in yokes, & obey the bitte, yea sometimes doe suffer iniurye of the poore flees. But the chyldren of poore men beinge wise, vertuous and stronge, haue libertie to walke at will, disburdened of all kindes of care.

Poore mens
children
more happye
then rich mens

Beinge at tapued to ripe yeres they hunt, they fish, they hauke, they play & wander wher they thinke best. It is not this liberty to bee preferred before, *K. Cresus* riches? But among such as haue by inheritance come to great riches, the most of them haue consumed all. Neyther can I thynke & couetise fathers on theyr death beddes, do feele greater tormente

The thyrde booke of

torment, then to remēber that those riches : which
with long labour they haue gotte, shalbe by theyr
prodigall sonnes in short space consumed, on strom-
pets, dycings, paracites, and flatterers of court. I
my selfe haue seene a man whose father and grād-
father in fiftye yeares had gotten to the value of a
thousande poundes, all which he consumed in lesse
then thre yeares. The sonne of *Rinius* hauinge re-
ceyued from his father a rich inheritance, fell in-
to such a fransy as he lost both lyfe & goods. Howe
many wayes are Lawes offended ? Howe many
rebellions happen ? Howe many treasons ? Where-
into such as liue in meane fortune do seldome fall.
Besides this, who hath not a greedy heyre, a sonne,
a brother, or a brothers sonne ? will not with one
farthinge redeeme thee ? Yet such is the madness
of men as with losse of theyr owne quiete they la-
bour to make them riche. Therefore seinge ritches
doth procure neyther glozy nor selycity to our sel-
ues or our posterity : there is nothyng worse then
not hauinge riches to desyre them, or go about to
get them. But seinge we meane not to perswade
anye thyng Rethorically, but rather accordynge
to the Philosophers examine whatsoeuer may on
eyther syde be objected : mee thinckes it maye bee
sayde that euery man seeketh ritches, but no man
wylleth for pouertye. Which reason albeit by di-
uers argumentes maye bee refuted, and happely
truely, yet in thys worke there is nothyng more
allowe of, then the simplicity of minde, so as rea-
son shoulde not proceede of wyl, but rather that
wyl should follow Reason. To retorne therefore
to

to our purpose I saye that whatsoeuer is by any creature requir'd either for commoditie or necessity the same creatures do naturally desyre the. In which desyres brute beastes directed onely by naturall sence, do not transgresse the lawe of necessity: But man hauinge liberty of sence & reason to perswade with himselfe, doth eate, drinke, & sleepe, moze then either commoditie or necessity doth requyre. So as though eatinge, drinking & sleeping, be things natural, yet superfluously take, do work effects contrary to nature. In like maner are riches to be desired, not in abundance, but so much as sufficeth to liue: whatsoeuer is required moze, is not onely not good which is contrary to nature. And how can y be good which is contrary to nature? This exceeding desyre of riches doth not therefore procede of imperfection of nature. All men naturally do desyre riches, as meate or drinke, not because excesse of them is natural, but because in the somewhat is naturall, y is to saye, so much as sufficeth wherew to liue. which sufficiently we get, either by industrie, as those y are learned in artes: or by reuenue as gentlemē: or by consent as friers: or by deuotion of others as Courtiers & beggers: As therfore wout eating & drinking we cannot liue, so is it lawfull to desyre riches. For to haue nothing, nor know which way to get, is contrary to nature. And yet as faciety & drunkenness be not only euil, but also vnpleasant, so is also riches and auctoryty. But notwithstandinge it may be objected that those comodities which poore men are partakers of, as laboz, exercise, industrie, patience & abstinence, may also be

Brut beastes better directed by sence then mē by abusinge reason.

Sufficient liuelode gotten foruer vvaies.

The thirde booke of

be enioyed by them that be ryche : and the choise of
 both beyng in the riche man, he should be the more
 happye. For if willingly we wante pleasures, in
 wanting them is eyther none euill, or iustly canot
 so bee called. Yet whosoever thus thinketh doth
 greatly erre. Because a man being brought vpp
 in delicasy, hys mynd becommeth effeminate, hys
 body tender, and vnfytt to suffer trauaile. Nature
 accustomed to sundry meates, do make dilicate di-
 gestion. And if any man so brought vp, do chaunge
 his dyet to poze mens fare, he shortly becommeth
 diseased, full of obstructions, and subiecte to con-
 sumption. Or if they fall to trauaile, eyther by cō-
 pulsion, or for ambitio, they grow vnealthy, sicke
 of agewes, and in short space dye. If any of these
 fyne eaters do apply themselves to earnest study,
 they commonly dye in youth : as did *Ioannes Picus*
Mirandola. A thinge impossible it is, that a manne
 bozne to greate riches shoulde become in learning
 excellent: vnlesse at the fyrste he liued a poze life, or
 in his youth fell into some frensie. But contrary-
 wyle in the prayse of pouerty it may bee sayde as
Dionisius sayde to *Aristippus* that poze men did begge
 of the riche, seke their houses, and liue of their ly-
 beralitye. Yet if thou respect the necessity of thin-
 ges, it shall appeare that the necessity of poze men
 is greater for the riche, then the necessity of the riche
 for the poore. The riche man nedeth a Whisician,
 a barbar, a muliter, a plowman, a cooke : & which
 of them nedeth a ryche man? Not wythstandinge
 the ambitious myndes of men doe make suche to
 seme to gouerne ouer poore men. Also thee emu-
 lation

Rich men ha-
 ue more nede
 of poze men
 then poze me
 of riche men.

lation in worldlye glozy, do make poze men seeme to haue more nede of the ryche, thenne the rich of them. Yet if wee respected onely necessitie, than shoulde the ryche haue more occasion to seke oute the pooze, then they to seeke for theym. Neyther can any man doubt, but that rich men do dayelye for necessitie vse the industrie of the pooze: And if the riche mans goodes bee nedefull for the pooze mans vse, it is scarceelye once in the yere. Also the rich onely for riches do gayne reputacyon, and in that respect onely thought meete for honoure and aucthority. But farre otherwyle it is in the common weale of Aenis and was in Rome, whyle it remayned in glozye: farre otherwyle it was in Lacedemon, where pouertye was accompted a prayse. Farre otherwyle in Athens, where *Phorion, Aristides, Cimon* and *Altiades*: continued longe tyme in glozye and aucthority. But in Cittyes euill gouerned wher might is holden for lawe, vertue for simplicitie, and riches for decree: rich mē are preferred before the wyle and vertuous. Neyther do I thincke mete for any poze man (be he neuer so good) should desyre aucthority. For as *Socrates* said, hast thou nothinge wherof to repente thee? But if I would reherse the discōmodities of aucthority, I myghte easelye prooue that the selytye of pouertye weere a syngular vertue. Lette meane I not to perswade for riches well vled in a good common weale were hurtful: for that were to absurd. Hitherto by true (though subtil reasons) we haue taughte the dyscommodities which riches dothe bringe withall. But remembrynge that at the be-

Riche men esteemed onely for riches.

A

ginninge

The thirde booke of

ginninge I determined not to proue any thyng by shor̄t and subtil arguments. I will procede in plainer speech. And therefore I say that nature lyke vnto fyer issuinge out of the ground hath aduanced all thynges some more and some lesse, and some most of all, and being at the hiest, vanissheth and decayeth away: So the race and dignity of man, being growen to the greatest honour & glory, a whyle stayinge there, doeth declyne, and at length is clearely quenched. For where is now any brāunch of *Alexander of Darius, Antiochus, Ptolomeus, David, Caesar, Antigonus, Mithridates*: or any other of these auncient kinges? who so attaineth to that high estate of glory, let him not forget himselfe, but say: Lo now the ende of humayne glory is at hand. Then who forcasteth not what cares and sorow are likely to follow? what say you to *Charles the fift*, though he gouerned mightely & happily from *Ethiopia, Hispania* and *Italia*, to the confines of *Dalmatia* and other Nations vnknownen, (wherein hee shewed more vertue then might bee hoped for in any man) in consultinge daily how to gouerne so many nations, in trauailinge to holde them in obedience, what man would say he was happy? when sometimes he remembred howe *Solimanus* did threaten the confines of the Emperre, sometimes he mused how the Islands of *Beleares* & the kingdome of *Spayne* were perturbed. Sometimes he doubted the inconstancie of the *Italian Princes*. Sometimes hee feared the weakenes of *Cycillia* and *Pulia*, against the *Turkes*. Sometimes he bethought him of the *Princes of Germany*, and
howe

Honour and
glory of small
continuaunce.

howe his shauy sent to sea was tossed with *Nep-
tuns* ire: Some fled to *Hongaria*, and some to *Ille-
rico*: And wyl you call this man moſte happye?
Whom ſo great cares, & ſo many feares did dayly
torment? Surely for my parte I wiſhe my ſelfe
rather a Religious man of *Carthuſia*, though they
liberty doth not farre differ from priſoners. If
then *Charles* beinge ſo great and mighty a Prince
was alwaies accompanied with cares, and ſo far
from felicitye: wilt thou ſaye that *Fraunces* the
French kinge might be called happy, or rather *So-
lymanus*? Which of them liued not in feare? whi-
che of theſe taſted not of euill fortune? And though
perhappes till this day they neuer felte any thinge
greatly euill, yet by enſample of others haue they
feared the worſt.

Policrates that in his whole lyfe neuer ſeeced a-
ny myſfortune, befoze he died by the *Persian* Kinge
was brought to the gallows and hanged. *Darius*
the Kinge (whole Emprye was thought equal to
Gods) befoze death was depryued and lyued in
myſery. Looke vpon *Syphax*, *Perſeus*, *Mathridates*,
Pyrrhus and *Cambyſes*. To greate a folly it were to
number all kinges whom Fortune hath laughed
to ſcorne.

In oure age wee haue ſeene the ſubuertion of
four kingdomes *Pannonia*, *Egipte*, *Gallia Sicalpania*,
and *Pulia*. Such is the alteration of tymes, that
Princes are conſtrayned to become eyther infor-
tunate, or myſerable: In keepinge thei kingedo-
mes they liue in miſerye, infortunate if they leaue
them.

The thirde booke of

OLord how liuely did *Lucanus* describe the life of
kyngeſ saying

A ſafe eſtate of life

*The pleaſant dayes which poore men paſſe, a bliſſe aboue the reſt,
to gods almoſt vnknowne.*

But thou not beholding what is within Prin-
ces, like vnto men that gaze vpon the outwarde
pictures and monuments of Tombes, doeſt iudge
them onely happye, who in dede of all other mor-
tall creatures are moſte vnhappy. This muſt alſo
be conſidered whē thou cōplaineſt onely of pouerty,
how many there are ſo vnhappy as in reſpecte of
them, thou mayeſt be accompted happy. How
many be ſicke? howe manye deafe? howe manye
blynde? how many in pryſon? howe many in exile?
how many condemned? how manye enforced to
aduenture theyr liues? then all whiche no doubt
thou art moze happye. Beſydes al this, if thou cō-
playne onely of pouertye (vnleſſe thou would be
come a kyng) there is no cauſe to complayne. Be-
holde how many do liue miſerable in Citties: how
many beg in the Subburges: how many in villa-
ges do paſſe theyr liues almoſt wout anye thinge,
yet burdened w childre and familie. And neuerthe-
leſſe cōſtrayned to pay tribute of that little which
with extream labour they haue earned. But (a-
las poore chriſtian people) nowe am I fallen into
that ſpeache which neuer earſt I thought. So as
in ſeeking to acquite others of care, I am my ſelfe
caſte thereinto. But doeſt thou deſyre to vnder-
ſtande plainly that in riches is no felicitye? thenne
behoude thoſe people which inhabite the countrey

and

and glozy in there small riches, thynkyng the-
 selues happy, because they see none of theyr nergy-
 hours to possesse moze then themselves, who are
 not ryche. But if the selfe same men do resozte to
 the Citty, where they see others that for ritches
 do excell them, then they lamente, complayne and
 accompte themselves pooze. But is this pouerty?
 surelye no: nay rather maye be called enuie. Who
 is he that possesseth a thousande Crownes, that
 maye iustlye bee called pooze and dwellinge in the
 countreie wyth that wealth, wyll not accompt
 himselfe a Prynce? yet if he happeneth to come to
 the Courte, where no man almost hath syue hun-
 dret Crownes, forthwith hee beleueth and cal-
 leth himselfe pooze. But if it shoulde come to passe
 as it dyd in the tyme of *Noie*) that all money, pro-
 uision, cattel, and other comodities were drow-
 ned wyth water . I thyncke then that no man
 would perswade himselfe to be iniured by pover-
 ty. Howe is it then, that now hauinge somewhat
 thou complaynest? which declareth playnely, that
 no pouerty, but enuy doth molest thee. And what
 can be worse then this? Why doest thou not de-
 syze the treasures of Kinges and the ritches of *In-*
dia? Unlesse it be in respect they are far from thee.
 But howe many Countreys and people hath po-
 uerty preserved and gouerned, as *Sythia*, *Asia*, the
Assyrians, the *Medians* and *Parthians* . Also *Alex-*
ander possessinge nothyng but bodyes and wea-
 pon, conquered all *Asia* . Like wise the pooze com-
 mon weale of Rome, subdued the proude french-
 men, the galliaunt Italians, the pitifull Bretians,

Enuy breedeth
 an opinion of
 pouerty.

The thirde booke of

the riche *Asia*, the crafty *Carthagienses*, and the disdainfull *Iewes*. All which was done by pouertye.

Riches the subuerter of liberty.

The *Persians*, the *Parthians* and *Germanes*, beyng like vnto the poore *Romaynes*, did in despite of their power defende & keepe theyr liberty.

But so sone as *Sylla* grewe to greatnes, & by him riches set in reputation, lyke vnto yce against the Sunne, all liberty and glozy decayed away. Then began sedition, ciuil warres, wth slaughter of familiars and frendes. So as in short space throughe enuy of barbarous nations, y^e whole empyre came to vtter destruction. Neither do I thinke y^e priuate riches be better or moze profitable, for by the oftentimes men become ambitious, slothful and full of cares, which the Poet pleasantly describeth in *Mydas*, when he had obtayned of *Bacchus* that all he touched should be goulde. Sayinge.

*Amazed at this mischife newe, now ritche and yet in wo,
His wished wealth la now he lothes, that erst he loued so,
No store can hunger stanch, drye thrust his throte tormentes,
Thus worthily amidst his gould, his former wishe repents.*

Private riches perelous.

So great is the misery of ritchemen, that amidst the desyre of riches they perishe. There is nothing contentinge to the richman, but that which accordeth with his couetyse munde. For he to encrease his riches hazardeth his soule, his reputacion and frendes. Who can thinke that either life or fame is gotten by riches, and for the most part riches do not longe remayne with any man, and neuer descende to the thirde degree? And seldome shalte thou see the grandchylde of a ritche man, dye in abundance. I marueyle not therfore why so many worthe

wo:thy mē disdained to become rich. And fyrst of al (omitting all Christians) let vs begin at *Crates* & *Theban*, who the more sitlye to study Philosophy, sould his goods & cast the money into y^e sea. More discretly did *Appolonius* & *Tyanus*, who selling their goods which were in deede great, did giue y^e same to theyr Citizens, reseruing to theselues nothing at all. *Zeno Citticus* being ritch, was impouerished by shipwack, & afterwards studying Philosophy, sayd y^e when his shippe perished hys voyage was most fortunat. But *Diogenes* deserued double glory because he did not only paciētly suffer poverty, but also therein liued a glorious life. For beyng asked by *Alexander* what hee wanted, aunswered nothinge: though by bounty of that noble kynge he might haue receyued great riches. Therefore *Alexander* was wont to say, if I were not *Alexander*, the would I be *Diogenes*. So wel did this noble kinge know, the felicity that grewe vppon the disdayne of riches. Likewise *Photio* after hee had receyued one hūdyed talentes, would neuer more be releued by *Alexander*, though he in deede he were so pooze as for wāt of a seruāt, was forced himselfe to drawe the water wherein he washed. *Socrates* refused the great rewards of *Alcibiades*. And *Artemis* seekinge the frendship of *Hipocraies* & *Epaminundas*, y^e one for his excellency in Physicke, the other for his companie, dyd presente theim with great giftes: and yet by that meane could not win them. For the libertye of the kynge, dyd not sirmount the disdayne they had of riches. The treasure of *Pyrrhus* coude not corrupte the fidelitye of

Worthy men
haue disdained
riches.

The thirde booke of

Fabritius, who preferred honest pouerty befoze the riches of kinges. Such was the nobility of these mens mindes (thoughe for want of Christianitye not to be nombred amonge others) yet in respectes of generositie, meete examples for our consolati- on. Do not therefore lament for thy pouertye, but call to minde that sayinge of *Plato*. *VVho so woulde become riche, must leaue the desyre of riches.*

A man encreaseh his riches, by þe decay of others, and so a riche man is either wicked or the heyre of one that was wicked, as *S. Hierome* writeth.

Exile.

The next calamity to pouertye, is exile. Where, in assuredly it is imagination onelye that maketh a man myserable. For who so marketh the liues of manye, shall fynde that they haue spent some parte of their liues in straunge Countreys, as *Plato*, *Berosius*, *Galenus* and *Dioscorides*. Some others their whole liues, as *Zeno*, *Citticus* & *Crautor*, who thought theyr foraine habitation pleasaunte, because it was voluntary. The like desyre had a Citizen of oures: hee in threescore yeares not further trauailed then the Suburbs of the Towne, was for a myracle shewed to the Prince, who did commaund him that neuer after he should passe those boundes. The poore olde man mislikinge this commaundement, desyred leaue to trauaile in his age, which in youth he had forgottē to do: which suite beinge denied, the sely olde fellow of very sorro w fell sicke & died. What can be greater folly then to neglect þe is good, or wishe th it is euil. And surely trauaile cānot be euil which so many princes, kyn- ges & Emperors haue takē in hand. Who wil the-
there:

therefore I amēt thereof, when it is perforce. For
 whatsoeuer is wel don though by inforcement, yet
 it is not euill. But call to thy consideracion howe
 many comodities cometh of trauaile. As experi-
 ence of forrayne customes knowledge to eschewe
 misaduentures, sight of *Citties, Seas, Mountaines,*
Ryuers, woods, variety of ayres, and y nature of li-
 uing Creatures. Also the practice of artes, &
 sciences, the Difference of mens wits, wpth many
 other miracles by trauaile are dayly learned. So
 as I nothinge meruaile at diuers excellent Philo-
 sopheres that consumed theyr Lyues in continual
 trauaile. And amonge the rest I call to minde y
 great *Alexander* that trauayled more to excel *Trai-*
anus who enuied his gloze, then for the desyre hee
 had to conquer the whole world or keepe the same
 in subiection. *Antoninus*, as he was soft of spyte, so
 did he trauaile coutries rather for experience, then
 for desyre to conquere. But to returne to priuate
 persons. I say that all such as haue inuented anye
 excellent knowledge, were those that liued in tra-
 uayle *Homer* commended his frende *Vlixes* for no-
 thing more, the for hauing trauayled sondry cou-
 tries. And haue not al excellent men beene driuen
 to exile? *Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristides, Tusidides, The-*
mistocles, Alcibiades Codrus, Theseus, Eumolpus, Trax,
Aristoteles, Camillus, Corialanus, Marius, Datanus,
Trisibulus, Dion, Anniball, Demetrius Phalerius. And
 some other y willingly banished theynselfes as
 Conō the *Athenian* into *Cyprus*, *Iphicartes* into *Thra-*
cia, Chares into *Bigeo*, *Timotheus* into *Lesbia*, *Zeno-*
phon into *Eleus*. What nedes more wordes? Say
 then

Trauell full of
comodities.

Inueners of
Arte trauellers

The thirde booke of

then as *Socrates* saide, that the whole worlde is a wise mans country, and a wise man while he is in the worlde is neuer from his country, and not to be in the worlde cannot be. It is the part of euery wise man to eschewe death, imprisonment, & exile and yet of these thre, is not exile the least?

And yf death be not euill, what euill can it bee to lacke our country? When it was tolde *Diogenes* that y^e *Synopenes* had condempned him to exile, he answered sayinge, euen so do I condempne them to dwel for euer in *Pötus*, & within the confines of *Euxinus*. Did not *Camellus* of such hard fortune receiue the occasiön of his noble victoꝝ.

And wher were y^e bookes of wise men made more often then in banishment? *Ouidius Naso* bring in exile wrote his bookes *De tristibus*, *De ponto*, in *Ibin*, *Triumphus Cesaris* and *De piscibus*. So as it seemeth that in eight yeares exile, he performed more then in those fiftie and foure, which befoze hee had liued in *Rome*. *Plato* wrote the greatest part of his bookes, while he liued from his owne countrey: For when *Socrates* dyed, he was about the age of twentie and seuen yeares. Cruely whosoever lyueth in his owne naturall countreye an industrious life, doth gayne great enuy, and y^e more if hee be so basely borne. Where was *Chryste* worse entreated then in *Nazareth* beinge there borne, yet hated, disdayned, afflicted, and at length in *Ierusalem* slayne. So it seemeth true that no man can be a Prophet in his owne countrey.

Thus we see that exile is not onely good, but also glozious, cheifly to a wise and Learned man.

Rep^r

Neyther ought any to mislike of that which hath
 furthered many. Would God all men knew how
 profitable a thinge it is to trauaile, and chiefly for
 such as dwell in those countries where riches do
 rule as Lawe, power take place of Order, or Ti-
 ranny in any sort is put in practyse.

Wherefore I say that exile is neyther euill nor to
 be nombred amonge those thinges which haue of
 euill any resemblance. But exile doth not so much Iniury.
 offend these, as iniuries do torment others, affir-
 minge with the *Lacedemonians*, that who so recey-
 ueth one iniury doth occasion an other. But who
 euer thincketh iniuries ought to be reuenged doth
 greatly erre. For in so doinge no ende of iniurping
 can be taken, when one iniury reuengeth another.
 Who so offereth the fyrst must he not reuenge the
 seconde? Hee therefore doth most euill, that offe-
 reth the fyrste iniury, and next to hym, he that see-
 keth reuenge, deserueth blame, because the thirde
 iniury, of necessity must followe.

And how can he patiently suffer wronge, that vn-
 prouoked willingly offered the fyrst iniury. What
 can therfore be better, then to refraine from doing
 iniuries, and call to memoxy the sayinges of *Plato*,
 that a wise man, differeth as far from a common
 person, as a common person from a childe.

For children do reuenge eury iniury yea though
 against the iniurious wyll it be offered, most like
 vnto Beastes, vppon whose tayles if (though
 vnwares thou treade) suddenly they byte without
 consyderinge whether willingly thou did it or not

But farre other wyse oughte Men to reuenge
 those

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those iniuries which willingly are offred. If then a wise mā do not reuenge those wzongs which by mishap do happen vnto him: is he not therin moze worthy then the common person voide of al wise-
dome? How much were it better to obserue that deuine precept. *Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam.*

That wyse men haue so done, no man doubteth. Amongst whom we reade y *Socrates* beinge stricken vppon the Shynnes and aduised by his fren-
des to seeke reuenge aunswered. If an asse haue stricken me shal I therfore be so foolish as to cal him in question? And when *Xantippe* his wife in a rage toke his cloake from his shoulders, his frē-
des perswadinge him to reuenge he sayde, this is Done only to occasion you to looke vpon vs, & saye here is *Xantippe* and here is *Socrates*.

Diogenes receiuinge a blowe saide *Nesciebam quando mihi cum galea ē domo sit prodeundum.* *Crates* also beinge stricken on the face by *Nicodromo Citaredo*, made none other reuenge, but wzot *Nicodromo* his name vpon the place he was stricken, and in that sorte shewed to the hole City the iniury offred vnto him: because to offer iniury without cause is a greater reproch, then to receiue it. The one by off-
fringe wzonge sheweth himselfe plainly wicked, & an euill man, the other is guilty of nothinge mys-
done. When it was tolde to *Antistines* that *Plato* had spoken euill of him he made this answere.

It is the parte of a pynce to heare euill when hee doth best. But *Plato* beinge tolde that *Zenocrates*, did slaunder him, sayd fyrst, he could not beleue it: and after better prooffe aunswered sayinge. I can
not

not think hee woulde haue thus spoken wythout cause. What coulde haue beene sayde moore wiselye or moore safelye. A chyrstian stricken on the right cheke ought to turn the left. And **S** Paule sayth, that if thou do good, to those that speake euill of the: thou heapest burning coales vpon their heades. There is nothinge moore wicked then ingratitude, nor moore cruel then to oppresse innocentes: eyther of which faultes he comitteth that offereth iniury to his benefactors. Let vs now follo to the law of nature, and consider when any iniurye is offered, whether safelye, or with perill the same may be doone?

Foꝛ what can be moore foolishhe then to seeke reuenge, when safelye it cannot be perfourmed,

So did *Pausanias* reuenge himlelse vpon *Phillippus* but foꝛ his laboure was hanged. So did *Andreas Lampugnannus* weake his ire vpon *Galeazens Sforza*: but thereby he wrought the distruction of himself his son, & his brother, besides many discomodities of his countrey. But how many haue ben punished & put to death, before they had performed their intent to reuenge? as were those that conspired & murder of *Phaleris*, & that wrought treasō agaynst *Nero*. The multitude of ensamples do make mee leaue them vntouched. Who doth therefore being neuer so symple cōmend & peril that reuenge bringeth? which though performed doth moore hynder thee, then him to whom it is offered, and sometime before performance doth vndoe both thee & thyne. Is then reuenge good when safelye it may be executed? Surelye at no tyme.

Be

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Because the pleasure of reuenge is when there in a man may declare courage and magnanimity of minde. And as the Poet sayth.

Shew not thy force on yeldinge foes, let proud men be oppress.

He thinkes therfore that *Aristides* deserued praise for whē *Cleomines* had sayd a man must do good to frendes, and euill to foes: *Aristides* turned h̄ wordes, sayinge. A man must do good to his frendes and seeke the reconciliation of his foes. The glory gottē by forgeuinge of foes, whō thou may oppresse, is greater, then the pleasure of reuenge. The man h̄ doth good for euill is lyke vnto God. For hee that defendeth and doeth well to all men doth most nearely folowe God. And howe great a signe of noble minde it is to forbear reuenge, h̄ auncient examplers doe beare witnes, wherein *Iulius Caesar* gained so great prayse, as no man more. He hauinge ouerthrowen *Pompeius* and hys army Commaunded that none shoulde bee hurte that were not present in the feilde agaynst him. He spared *M. Marcellus* his mortall enemy. He set at liberty *Petreius* the cheiftaine of his foes: *Africanus*, *Verc*, *Korfinius*, *L. Lētulus*, *L. Domitius*. He toke mercy vppon the Sonne of *Cato* a notable Enemye. Hee touched not *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger Sonne of the great *Pompeius*, at whose deat h̄ he weeped.

He pardoned *Ligarius* at the suite of his freindes and Brethren, though he were an apparaunte offender, and many wayes guiltye. He spared *Cice-*

ro and freely pardoned al other Princes that were in the battayle *Pharsalica*. He sette vpp the Pictures of *Pompeius* and finally gaue so many signes and Monumentes of mercy, as *Cicero* both before the victoꝝ, and after his death affirmed his Quarell the better: sayinge that *Pompeius* defendoure of his countrey might more iustly be condemned for his cruelty to Enemies, then *Cesar* in respect of the greate Mercy he vsed. In lyke maner dyd *Octavius* his successor procede.

For when *Linus* the Historiographer had partially written against him, hee vsed none other Reuenge but called him a Pompeian, Lykewise when *Asinius Pollo*, had in his Booke praysed *Cassius*, *Brutus*, *Affranus* and *Scipio*, he sought no reuēg against hym. Besydes all thys, he receyued into hys House *Tymagines* who in writinge had defamed *Octavius*, *Liua* and her daughter. For all which doinge hee vsed none other Reuenge then these wordes. *Fruere mihi Pollio fruere.*

But beholde howe nobly *Adrianus Cesar* did mitigate his ire? Hee beinge made Emperoure and meetinge his Enemy sayde, Thou hast escaped. Declaringe that as before hee wanted power to bee Reuenged, so now in aucthority hee woulde wante will, and therefore did acquit him of feare. It is also to bee considered that there is nothinge that encreaseth aucthority more then to forgeue.

And therefore *PELECRVS* the *Lacedemonian*, Complayninge to hys Brother that hee was not so Beloued amonge the Cittizens as hee was: hee answered *Pelecrus*, sayinge the cause there:

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thereof is that thou can not suffer iniuries. It is likewise greatly to be noted that who so euer hath aspired to authority or greatnes, they haue born to many iniuries, because they y^e reuēge might be resembled to the fable of *Praxitelis*. Who beyng (as men say) of Nature angrey, and beholdinge hymselfe in a glasse, espied there a visage euill fauoured and deformed: and therewithall more moued, increased his collerick & angry countenaunce whiche playnly appeared within the glasse, but in the end hee brake the glasse, in euery piece whereof he found a face much deformed. Wherby *Praxitelis* had experience that in seeking to reuenge himself of one discontentacion, he occasioned many. Euen so if thou murder one man, thou makest his frendes and familye al thine enemyes. Thus in seeking to acquit thy selfe of one foe thou getteste many, yea, sometimes for so doyng thy name groweth odious, and thou condemned for an euill man. Fynallye who so accustomed to reuenge, myndeth none other thing, which reason and experience doth wel declare. *Alexander* the greate (in whose chamber whyle he liued good fortune sleapt) knowing the vnfrendly harts of the *Athenienses* and other (people of *Grecia*. who vnder y^e ensigne of *Darius* made warre agaynst hym, did notwithstandinge seeke any reuenge, which greatnes of minde *Darius* and other vnderstanding, of enemies they became subiectes and fapthful frendes. But yf contrary, wylse he had vsed reuenge, the whoole number of the *Grecian* youth yea all *India* and *Peloponeesso* had reuolted had bene destroyed: so as of *Alexander* he had
had

had in short space become a poore obscure Prince. Farre vnylike to hym dyd *Pyrrus* proceede, who beinge a famous Captayne, yet followinge Reuenge, leste his doinges imperfite and dyed in misery. *IULIUS CÆSAR* in priuate life and to wardes reconciliation to his Enemies, beinge greatly flattered by *Caius Caluus* and *Catullus* did, notwithstandinge wyte first vnto *Caluus* and pardoned *Catullus*.

What greater Enemy had he then *Clodius* that despyled the honour of wedlocke? Beinge apprehended he would not onely not condempne him, but also saue him from periturpe. But *Marius* dyd far otherwise, he thirstinge for the bloude of enemies and followinge Reuenge had enyll ende, & was the destruction of himselfe and all his.

What hath bene seene moze woorthely done then that acte of *Fabius*? who contrary to al right, was forced by the people to receiue *Minutius* maister of his horse, as his companion in the Emperre, who doinge diuers thinges contrary to *Fabius* designe, did (notwithstandinge forgetting the iniury) ioyne with *Minutius* againste *Hanball*, and to saue him from peril vsed al care & cūning, which after warres wrought such effect as y people confessed how vnworthely they had abled *Minutius* to bee his equal, which *Minutius* also vpo his knees confirmed prayinge *Fabius* to take in to his handes y hole authority and Emperre. Such be the rewards of noble mindes, that can forget all iniuries. So did not *Cicero* when with flaunderous speech he persecuted *Clodius*, but for so doinge was himselfe ban-

ished

nished

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nished. And in seekinge to banishe *Antonius* out of the cōmon wealth, he thereby hindred himselfe, his friends, his country, and all good men.

But is it not a thinge worthy to be noted? That we disdaine the iniuries of brute beasts, & reuēge the wronges offered by men? Also we patiently suffer the displeasure of tyme, and cannot beare, the offences of men? But in the one Ambition wanteth: in the other is meane to Reuenge whiche I graunt: and yet in the Iniuries of men, it is to bee considered, that man is, wyll thou, Nyll thou, thy Companion in lyfe: And manye times (though thou marcke it not) by the prouoked.

What doth it then moue thee to suffer iniury? Is it Harme or Losse? by reuenge it cannot be recovered. If Harme: thou seemest to Sorrowe that thou arte honest, or that thou woulde bee so thought. Seing it is the property of an euill man to do iniury: & the property of a good man to disdayne it. Also when any man doth sclander thee, disdayne thee, stryke thee, or hurte thee, consyder whether the same be willingly done or not? Because an vnwillinge offence may hurt, and yet bee none Iniurye at all. *Crasus* was commended for pardoning *Adrastus* when he had killed his sonne: because *Adrastus* meaninge was to haue shotte at the Boze, and not to haue slaine the Chylde. But if wyllingly the offence bee offered, examyne thy selfe if thou haue geenen cause, for then is it none iniury, but deserued punishment.

And if thyne Enemy hath hurte thee, thincke wyth thy selfe whether thou woulde haue done
the

the lyke to him if thou might, for then it was none Iniury but contention.

The ende of all stryfe is when y one yeldeth. And therfore a boye of *Lacedæmon* beinge deadly wounded and Comforted by his freindes, sayinge that oz longe they would reuenge the iniury done vnto him, aunswared, that in no wyse they shoulde so doe, because the hurte he receiued, hee entended to his Enemy, if his entent had taken place.

But let thy mynde be voyde of euill, free from hate and displeasure, then consider the quality of the offence and the state of the offender, whether it be so small as is not to be regarded, oz the man so mad oz vyle as is to be disdayned: because to be reuenged vppon any sutch Iniurious occasions, oz men, is both dishonourable and wicked. But admit the offence be not sutch, dost thou not remember that it is the property of a good man patiently to suffer iniuries, not for feare, but through fortitude. So *Phocion* beinge by the *Athenienses*, condemned to death, his freindes askinge what he woulde haue sayde to his sonne? Aunswared, tell him that in any wise he forget this iniury here offered vnto me. *Aristides* also vniuersally remaining in exile, prayed the Gods y the *Athenienses* mighte be so happy as neuer after to thincke vppon him. Also call to thy consideration that against all Iniuries thre Remedyes there are, that is to saye Reuenge, Obluion, and disdayne.

Against Iniury
thre remedies

Of which thre who doubteth but Disdayne is both the best, and most assured? Because Disdayne through the courage of minde where wyth

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it is accompanied, is not like vnto obliuion ioyned with reproche, neyther perilous in respect of new iniuries, as is a reueng, which bringeth therewith bothe peryll and repentaunce, and in the meane time, the Desyre, of offending doth not molest thee but arte there in most lyke vnto God . For such as contempne iniuries are moſte happy and likeſt to God, and ſuch men they are, or muſt be that would become happy. For ſeeinge no man liueth free from iniuries, and the greater in auctoꝛity he be, the moze followed with ſlaunder, euill report, & iniurye, it is expediente that euery man doe determyne himſelfe to beare them.

Nether is it lawefull for any mortall man to vſe reuenge. Who hath bene moze ſlaundred the Kinges, and Emperours, whoſe power is greateſt? Whoe, or what is of greater force then God and Nature? And yet they delighte not in Reuenge. Shall man then be like vnto Beares, purſuinge the Bees, ſeeke for reuenge? God foꝛbyd . For although we myght in life reuenge all Iniuries: what good weare that after Death, or what care ſhoulde wee then haue of iniuries? It is all one whether with ſufferaunce of Iniury, or not, after Death we be remembꝛed. Who ſo therfoꝛe lyuing ſeemed to contempne iniuries, by death he is free from the perill which Reuenge might caſt him into. Wherefoꝛe there is nothinge better then an inuiſible mynde, whych lyke vnto a man placed on the toppe of an high Tower, in diſdayne caſtinge downe ſtones vpon the heades of hys Enemyes, both make lyght of all Iniuries (and as it were)

diſdayne

disdayne them. For as women, for lacke of magnanimity cannot beare offences: so men (as they are men) maye take what reuenge they thinke best. Then make thy choise whych of them thou wilt bee lyke. But happely thou wilt saye some worthy men haue bene reuenged. For *Cesar* commaunded *Faustus Silla* and *Affranius*, to be slaine.

Likewise *Antonius* reuenged himselfe by *Cicero*, and *Alexander* & by *Calistines*, carying him abrod when his Eyes were put out, and in th'ende shut him by into a caue with a Dogge. But alas (good man) thys was no Reuenge, thoughe some saye that *Antonius* beinge of mynde moze abiecte then a woman dyd like vnto hys other doinges commit this acte, and therefore had an ende aunswearable to his deseruinge. But as for the other they mynded nothinge lesse then Reuenge, for the respecte of their doinges was security, which in lyke case by our Lawes is sufferable. For if *Affranius* had gotten liberty, he woulde neyther haue kepte Promise nor lyued in quiet. Also *Faustus Silla*, was by Lawe guilty. *Pompeius*, freinde for his fathers Tyranny odious to the people of *Rome*.

So as beinge a necessary freinde for *Pompeius*, he coulde not haue lyued in quiet. But if hee had, for the Mallice bozne to hys father beene slayne, the same shoulde rather haue beene doone vppon *Cato*, who (as was well known) after that *Cesar* conquered the *Germanes*, dyd perswade the Senate to haue him deliuered into the Enemies handes, because hee had foughte contrary to the

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truce taken. But *Silla* when easly he might haue slayne him, he would not.

So *Alexander* beyng settled in hys Emprye amonge the barbarous People, did not condempne *Calistines*, for mallice, but security, because thrugh his woordes he coulede hardely keepe the *Persians*. And the *Macedonians* began to disdayne him.

Full well knewe *Antonius* that if *Cicero* had escaped, hee woulde neuer haue lyued in quyet, because beinge all readye once pardoned, hee notwithstandinge did follow hym with Hate vnreconsiliable, & if the Death of *CICERO* had bene sought for Reuenge, eyther a lyue he myghte haue bene tormented and kepte, or elles executed with more cruelty. It commeth also to minde, that iniuries haue not a little profitted Some men : and therefore *Ouidius* sayth.

Iniuries haue
profyted some
men.

A wronge som whiles we see: doth helpe the wronged wight.

It happeneth ofte tymes that wee take Compassion of theym wee loue not : eyther for the mallice wee beare theym that offered the Iniurye, or through beliefe that the Iniured is condempned, rather by power of his Enemy then his owne offence. And by such meanes it is well knowne & many haue escaped great peryll.

Amonge whych nomber *Valerius Maximus* telleth howe *Gabinus* through the Sclaunder of *Sisenna*, and *Flauius*, for the Iniury of *Valerius* were deliuered, and *Cotta* onely for suspicion of wronge founde the same fauoure. In which cases if none
iniu:

iniury had bene, no hope had remayned. It is also to be considered, that the occasions of sciaunders are so common, as nothinge more. The People do backebite the learned, the learned disdayne the vnlearned, the Just do condempne the wicked, the wretched do laugh to Scorne those that be good, the Mighty do enuy the Mighty, against whom they prouoke seruantes and subiectes by sclaundersous speech, Robbery, Practice, and vntrewe Dealinge. Were it not better with noble minde to disdayne all Iniuries, then thus continuailye to lue toymented in minde. *Lucius Murena* was praysed, because he tooke *Cato* vnder hys Gowne and saued him from Death, that not longe before had accused him.

Publius Pulcher beinge by the thye *Lentuli* accused of incest, did not withstandinge after wardes saue one of them from perrill. *Marcellus* beinge hynously accused by the *Siculi* did not onely forgeue them, but also receiued them into his own tuitio. So *Menedemus* bestowed many Benefites vpon *Alexinus* of whom he had beene greatly iniured. How wisely sayde *S. Gregorius*, that who so cannot beate iniury, doth shew by hys impacience that he is not good. The kinge *Archelaus*, when vppon a time one cast water vpon him, beinge perswaded by his freindes to reuenge: aunswered, saying, I know he woulde not haue cast it vpon me, but on some other. By which aunswere he saued the offender from hurt, & him selfe from the importunity of his frendes.

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A notable example remaineth in memoire of the seruante of *Annius Restio*, who bringe longe time kepte in prison, and by his maisters commaundement, ofte times burned with hot yrons, yet afterwards folowing him in y^e triūphe triumphall did not withstanding all their iniuries saue himself from perill, when comodiously he might haue bene reuēged & also rewarded. Such wisdom hath not onely bene performed by priuate men, but also by whole Cities. For *Dionisius* the yonger both at the playes of *Corinthus* and also before hee was sent into exile might haue bene by them of *Syracusa* slayne, whom before time he had most Tirānously vsed. But they with disdayne did let him passe. Likewise dyd the *Romans*, when *Sila* had resigned the Office of Dictator, and liued in priuate state: notwithstandinge he had greuously offended the people, yet dyd they suffer hym to passe without hurt, thinkinge that reuenge is to be vsed vpon mighty men, & those that beare rule, & vpon those that were by law or assent dismounted from authority, courteously & compassionately to entreat them, was a signe of a good man.

Therefore there is no greater argument of felicity, no redyer way to glory, nor better meane to quiet, then to disdayne iniuries.

Beholde the dogs which be of many other beasts the most improfitable, yet are much more made of then either Oxen or Horse, onely because they suffer all iniuries their maysters do offer vnto them.

If thou Stryke theym, they saue: If thou dyue theym awaye from thee, they retourne
vnto

vnto thee: if thou chide them they flatter. Finally
 he is much worse then any beast, that cannot dis-
 dayne iniuries. No brutish beast is mindefull of
 offence done vnto him. Therefore that man that
 seeketh reueng is not wise, loued of God, nor lōge
 happye. If thou suffer a while thou shalt see thy
 wronges reuenged by nature, by chaunce, or by
 some other meane. And him whom with extreme
 care, trauayle, and hazard of thy selfe thou sought
 to offende, shall be without thyne euill or myserye
 destroyed. The liues of all euill men that do per-
 turbe the quiet of y good, are short: or at least wise
 that happines of small continuance. If therefore
 forbearinge iniury no man is miserable, then is it
 better for all men whether they can or not, not to
 be reuenged: because it is manifest that before re-
 uenge of iniury no man is in miserye. The offence
 that men in these dayes do thincke the greatest, is
 the infidelity of wiues. But in so dishonest a mat-
 ter not to trouble the eares of good men I meane
 nothing to speake, notwithstandinge I call to re-
 membrance y *Pompeius* for adultery cast of his wife
Metia, and for the like faulte did *P. Caesar* put away
Pompeia, both excellent men, and amonge the Ro-
 maynes inferiour to none for auctorite, deserte &
 wyledome. All which notwithstandinge either y
 importunate of adulterours, or the wantonnes
 of women, did make their beddes defiled. *Septimi-*
us Severus, & *Antonius* the Philosopher had dis-
 honest wiues, yet canst thou not finde any better, or
 more worthe men in that common weale. Whē
 a frende of *Antonius* did wythe hym to put away
 his

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his dishonest wife, he aunsweread saying: euen so
 I may do and there shall loose her dowrye: which
 dowry was the Romaine Emperre, because *Faustina*
 was daughter to *Pius Antonius* the Emperoz.
 Therefore I though *Antonius* wittingly, or *Seuerus* vn-
 wittingly kept theyr aduouterous wiues, I can-
 not thinke it was prejudiciall to theyr reputaciō,
 vertue or felicity. Neyther do thou thyncke that
 this blot doth blemish the reputation of common
 persons moze thē these most noble personages: for
 seing the fault is in others, the dishonour cannot
 appertayne vnto thee. Therefore a Cittizē of *Spar-*
ta finding an adulterer a bed with his euil fauou-
 red wife saide, alas unhappy man what necessity
 hath driuen the to do this deed? To cruell it were
 to impute that to thine owne follye, which by no
 policie can be prevented, as though thy vertue &
 estimation were stayned by y^e default of an other.
 Yet nowe a dayes this reproche is cast vpon the
 man. So did not *Salethus* Prince of *Crotone*, who
 made an ordynance moze harde then the *Lawe*
Julia, which was that cockould makers should be
 burned quicke. Supposinge that none offence was
 moze wicked. Yet when after wards hee himselte
 had defyled his brothers wife and was taken, hee
 made so wyse an Oracion, as the people were cō-
 tent to punish his offence wth exile onely. Not-
 withstanding, knowing the greatnes of the fault,
 willingly he cast himselte into the fyre, and was
 burned. Thus wee fynde hee desyred not pardon
 (though his wordes were to such effect) but rather
 sought to shew y^e none offence coulde be so greate
 but

Injury of Wi-
 ues no preju-
 dice to the
 housebandes
 reputation.

but might deserue to be pardoned. Therefore this iniury cometh not of the wyues defaulte, but the imperfection of time: wherin we being brozious, the reproch is cast vppon men, & the periury vpon God: neither shall thys plague cease till y (as men say) *Polipus* haue eaten out himselfe, & the power of *Mahumet* hath stayed the slaunder.

But of iniuries we haue no we enough sayde, let vs therfore speake of other calamities, amonge which imprisonment seemeth the cheife.

In prison is darckenes, vncleanenesse, lacke of companye, fetters, and fynally (as it seemeth) all sortes of miserie: whych prouoked *Batius* to crie out sayinge.

*Tou mourning Muscs teach, wherof I should endight,
And bash my face in bitter teares, wherwith my woes I wright.*

Alas good frende) what is this lyfe other then an imprisonment of minde, much worse then that of the body, & would God this quiet might chaũce to me, which so many worthy men haue despyed. Amongest whom *Demostenes* y excellent Oratour to the end he might be enforced to keepe the house, cut of the one syde of his bearde. Where is truer contemplation then in solitary life? what place is more fit for study, then where is quitnes? neither did *Batius* write any worke better, then y he inuēted in prison, did not *Aesopus* long time lurke in a toombe? & *Democritus* willingly inhabit the dēnes of dead mē? studying & writing? And y more their eyes were dackened, the more theyr mindes were lightned. *Plato* telleth y *Anaxagoras* while he remained in

The thyrde booke of

in pryſon wrote the booke *De Circuli quadratura*. To whom could imprisonment be more greuous, the to *Socrates* whē th'ende was death, the time long and incertaine? yet neuertheleſſe he ſlept ſweetely, ſtudied Philoſophye, and wrote Verſes. So as *Socrates* gaue more light to the pryſon, then the pryſon gaue darcknes to *Socrates*. *PAVLVS* the Doctoure of the worlde ſent the greater parte of his epiſtles from pryſon, as to the *Ephesians*, to *Timothe* and *Philemon*. For like reaſon is ſeruitude patientlye to be borne, ſeynge nature hath not more liberally beſtowed her gyftes on the maiſter, then the ſeruaunte: They are equallye wyſe, equallye beautifull, equallye healthfull, and finally in body & minde no maiſter excelleth his ſeruaunt. And for quietnes of minde y^e ſeruaunt hath the aduauntage. For he ſeeketh onely to content one, which is hys mayſter, for whych doinge, hee is provided for, of meate, dryncke, apparell, and all other neceſſaries. But a maiſter muſt not onely be carefull of hymſelfe, but alſo of others. Every loſſe is hinderance to the mayſter, but to the ſeruaunt not ſo. Therefore if it were lawfull, more men woulde commyt themſelues to ſeruitude, thē deſyre to become free. Who ſo doth conſider well, ſhall ſee, that whē we thincke oure ſelues moſt free, we ſerue mayſters more ſeuere: as Princes, God, neceſſities, lawes, and pleaſure: whych be alſo common to ſeruauntes, yet there withall they haue foode, apparel, and houſes, which y^e mayſters haue not. It is the leſſe maruayle why ſome bondmen haue reſuſed to be made free, as did *Meliſſus* a Gramarian of *Spoleta*.

Surely

Seruitude.

Surely it is a goodly pleasure to eate at other mens tables. Would God it were as honest. And doest thou thinke the fauorites of Princes are other then seruauntes whom ambition hath deceiued? besides which, they estate is more perillous and more vnhappye. Neither is seruitude anye hinderance to glory, for *Plato, Xenocrates, Calcedonius, Diogenes, Phedrus, Epitetus, & Esopus* the fabler, did liue in seruitude. Besides them diuers *Grazmarians, Sibonius, Aphroditius, Taberius, Crotes, Antonius Gnipho, Phosius* y excellent player and *Manlius* in Astronomy, a singuler Poet. What shoulde I say of riches? And shall I agayne resight those monsters of the Romaine pleasure *Drusulanus* and *Menecrates*? yea the seates of kinges haue bene by bondemen possessed. *Tullius* one of the aunciente kinges, was a bondman. And so was *Oedipus* and other. The kinges of *Syria* and *Palestina* in our age chosen out of this sorte of men. But let riches rule and beare the sway, yet let vs resight known examples of many sutch as seruitude and the patronage of a good maister haue aduauised, for y vertue of the maister dependeth much vppon y wisdom of the seruaunt. And som seruauntes haue not onely gayned liberty, but also deserued to become heyres to their maisters. Neither shalt thou finde vppon the auncient monumentes, more recordes of loue of wyues, children, and brethene, then ensamples of seruauntes deuotion towards maysters, and maisters towarde them.

Seruitude no let to glory.

Some from seruitude haue become kings.

The like perswatio may make for my comfote, if thou liue without glory: whych kinde of life is
the

Obscure life.

The thyrde booke of

the moze tollerable if thou remaine in seruifude :
 wherinto *Vlyffes* (as *Plato* sayth) beinge twayne of
 hys former life did willingly cast himfelfe. Ther is
 no happines þe can happē to mā greater, thē either
 not to desyre glozy, or not to haue it. Who so doth
 þe one, liueth, in great quietnes of mind, þe other en-
 toyeth great security. For is þe glozy of this world
 other then a swete poissō for men? whereof if thou
 taste, thou becomest blynde & senceles. Whereupon
 groweth baine labour, perill & care, which way to
 kepe & get frēds, authority & riches. Enuy also like
 vnto a shadow inseperable doth follow glozy, whi-
 che in a momēt, sadeth away, and þe rest of thy life
 the moze vnpleasāt. How many worthy mē haue
 geuen the glozy of theyr owne deserts to others?
Socrates beinge victorious in battayle, gaue all the
 honour prayse & rewarde to *Alchibiades*. But who
 can therein excel *Plato*? he cōmendēd for his lear-
 ning, did yelde all the prayse to those þe had taught
 him: as *Socrates*, *Tymēus*, and *Parmenides*. Surely
 there is no greater glozy then the contempt of ho-
 nour. Who so is not ambitious getteth no glozy:
 why seekest thou that, þe to haue thou ought not?
 If thou be ambitious, thou accusest thy selfe: and
 yet ambition were no vice, if glozy might lawfully
 be desyred. I cannot resighte the number of all
 such as haue honoured vertue, and yet contemned
 the prayse. And yet in dedde euen at this day also,
 who so lyunge vertuously doth lurke, may be cal-
 led good & happy. What doth the ambitious man
 gayne other then set to sale all his imperfections.
 And whosoener doth marke it well, shall fynde
 that

Disdayne of
 glory is cause
 of quiet and
 Security.

Enuy follovy-
 eth glory.

The ambitious
 man publish-
 his owne im-
 perfections.

Cardanus comforte. 96.

that euerye man hath moze defectes, their customes woꝛthy commendation. To pꝛeuent the peril of this condēpnation there is no way so sure as to lurke and liue vnknownen.

The like cōmodity byingeth ignoraunce where-
of not withstanding many do complaine. Ignoraunce, Who so seeketh knowledge, findeth care and laboure, as the Prophet sayeth. I tell not that Paule hath preached, that this woꝛldely wysedome is enemy to God. Let vs consider what is commonly gayed by learning, profite is disdayned, the soule hazarded, the body consumed, thy children & substaunce neglected. The learned do get great enuy & shortneth his lyfe, and all for knowledge, or rather to be thought to knowe. If thou arte thou moze wyse then *Socrates*, *Plato*, or *Aristoteles*? *Socrates* did glory that he knew nothinge. *Plato* doubted of many thinges. *Aristoteles* speaketh so obscurely, as one woulde thincke he knewe little. Alas how many haue bene hindered wth being thought learned? Amonge the rest, y^e small knowledge of myne, haue bene to my disaduantage, for thereby I haue bene oftentimes reiected, euill handled & oppressed, and would God that eyther I had bene such a one as they thought me, or y^e they had thought mee such a one as in deede I was. Hereof grew against mee so many vnderfuered euill reportes, al which I disdayned, perswading my selfe that one mā excelled an other, in that he was better. Like vnto al other things doth y^e opinion of learning brede flaunder & diuers other incōueniencies: as we see by *Alexāder Achillino*, *Tiberio of Bononia*, *Petrus Leo* & *Marcus Antonius*

The thyrde booke of

torius of Verona. For *Achillinus* was poysoned. *Petrus Leo* cast hed longe into a ponde, *Tiberius* & *Antonius* occasioned to shorthe theyr owne lyues. So we finde that this wiscdome is accompanyed wth many discommodities. Howe much better had it beene for these learned men to haue liued by some craft or industry? What man haue thou knowen both learned and fortunat, yea whom hath not learninge hindered? *Socrates* was slain, *Anaxagoras* kept in prison: *Plato* soulede, and put in perill of his heade, *Aristotiles* sent into exile, where eyther willingly or not greatly against his will he dyed: *Demetrius Phalerius* banished and cōdempned: *Demostenes* poysoned himselfe. *Easimes* sent to exile & so was *Solon*. *Licurgus* depriued of hys eyes, and after banished with many periles of lyfe: *Ioannes Scotus* stabbed in with daggers by þ^e handes of his companions. *Cicero* betrayed and slayne. *Varro* cōfined, and who was not molested and disdained? *Budens* a notable man of our age, dyd also iustlye complaine, what and how many persecutions did *Erasmus* suffer? were the Prophetes and wise mē in the lawe of *Moyse* moze happy? Surely no. The cause is learning, which who so hath not, let him not despye it: who already hath it, must think to haue bought a iewell of greate pryce, and kep^te with moze care and perill. But to much haue we spoken of these matters, for fewe or none shalte thou finde that complayne of ignoraunce, seinge willingly they deceyu themselves.

Now as touchinge sorowe it selfe, which wo^rthely seemeth intollerable, Let vs consider it com^meth

Learninge accompanyed
with
many discommodities.

Sorrowe.

meth cheifely of thre causes, that is to say of sickness, folly, or enforcemēt. How soeuer it be, or what soeuer greife we feele, eyther it is not great, or not long, and seldome it happeneth to honest men: but if it doe, must of necessity be endured. Whoso euer falleth into sickness either willingly or against his will, would he not be ashamed that womē should excell hym in patience and sufferance of greife? for women in bearinge of childzen do endure most extrecme paynes, yet notwithstanding do not refrayne the company of men, & sutch as be barren, do not desyre any thinge so much as to haue childzen. The greife which women suffer in childing, is of all other the greatest, and nearest to death: yea many of sutch greife do dye in deede. No gout, no ach, no collicke or other tormēte is comparable to this paynes. Not withstandinge how great soeuer they be, they leaue not to liue in delight, and (as woulde they were) approue the ioyes of *Venus* sport without the desyre of well doinge. There is no greife so great, that a resolute minde wil yelde vnto. *Posidonius* the Philosopher extremely sicke, sayde vnto *Pompeius* beyng come to visite hym, & the greatnes of paines should neuer make him cōfesse that sickenes was euill. Neither in deede can that be euill wherch is without vs, therefore the greife of the body if it do not ouercom our minde, cannot be sayd to be ours. How well did that seruante which slue *Asdrubali* declare it: For he beyng greuoulsye tormētd for the murder of hys maister, did not worthstandinge in countenaunce shewe the ioye he felt for hauing reuenged the in-

Sorrowe proceedeth cheifly of thre causes.

The thyrde booke of

iury of his maister. I remember that when *Antonius Cribellus* was condemned by publike assente to be tozne in peeces, in preparinge himsele to bee executed, sayde, & there was no torment so greate as coulde cause him cōfesse the companions of his offence, yet assyuringe there were sutch, but hee would neuer betray them. What marueile was it then though *Pompeius* so manfully helde hys singe to be burned in the candell befoze the kynge *Genthius*, seinge that thereby the kynge might perceue there was no hope to wrest out any intelligence at the Embassadours hands. With like patience did *Secuola* burne his hand befoze the kynge *Porcenna*. Neyther haue there wanted women, & haue deserued such glozy. The mother of *Hircanius* the Jewe beinge offended by *Ptolomeus* her sonne in lawe, wyllid *Hircanius* not to leaue of his enterpryse: but rather reuenge the death of hys father whom *Ptolomeus* had slaine. *Epicharis Liberta* more noble then many men, for no torment could be cōstrayned to confesse her offences or her companiōs in offending. *Quintilia* a little personage suspected for the conspiracy agaynst *Caligula*, beinge racked wyth great torment, confessed nothinge, whereby she was set at liberty as guiltlesse, and receyued reward as innocent. What should I speake of *Barbara Agatha* a Chyrstian, wyth diuers other vyrgins? & number of whom is hardly to be beleued, and theyr constancy so marueylous, as they seemed not onely patiently to haue suffered tormētys, but also to haue wyshed for them. But this vertue proceedeth of our Chyrstianity. Let vs retorne
to

to naturall reasons. There is no rest so welcome, as that which followeth great trauaile, nor death so much desired, as where sickness hath bene most extreame. The ende therefore of all greife, eyther by recovery, or death is pleasaunt. It is also to be considered, that al such as suffer great torments, beinge perswaded of the immortality of Soules, ought thereby (though none other reason weare) to be comforted. And such as beleue of none other life, are sure that death is the ende of all miseries. Therefore if thy greife groweth bypon desert, Deseruingly thou ought to beare it, for thereby thou doest decrease thy greife, and saue thy mynd from due torment, neyther oughtest thou to punish thy body and minde both at one time, seinge thy soule is afterwards to receyue his chastisement.

The same or more profitable reason may be made for sickness, then sorowe: for what can be intollerable in sickness, if sorowe be away? yea hardly it can bee thoughte howe many commodities it bringeth. In syckenes wee Learne who wee be, howe fragile the condition of life is: Howe incertayne, and subiect to the power of others.

Thereby wee are taughte to be myndfull of an other lyfe, and that we ought not to do that to another, which we would not haue don to ourselues. Thereof wee become more temperate and content, yea to some syckenes haue breue cause of longe lyfe, amendemente of fame, and encrease of vertue. If sickness were not, a man shoulde become more hard harted then the Tiger, and more

The thyrde booke of

cruell then the Lionesse. *Macrobius* thincketh that sickenes doeth more often happen to those whom God loueth, then those whome he hateth. *Seneca* supposed that he is most vnhappye that neuer seeleth aduersity, and that he is most myserable that is most happy. *Sainct Paule* sayeth, whom God loueth him he chasteneth. The nature of man is vnbidled, and were it not lyke wheate well sifted, woulde become as sauage as the wilde beastes.

When the soule leaueth the bodye, then is it more noble and perfite, because then it commeth to his owne nature beyng vnbourdened of the bodye, which hindered the sight and perfite knowledge. It is therefore the lesse maruaile that those that be most weake of body and of shorrest life, bee of best iudgemente, and mooste apte to knowe. No man hath all gyftes, if thou haue stooze of vertues of thy mynde, thou arte of necessity the more sicke of bodye. Then whether wouldest thou rather haue a stronge bodye and a witte lyke vnto beastes, or a weake bodye wyth an excellent sprighte? Some brutish beastes there are also as much or more subiecte to sickenes as men: as the Lion and Goate: for which cause those that do vse to sell Goates, do not warrant them for sound, as they do other cattell, but as *Varro* sayeth, this daye hee is well and drincketh, and like enoughe he may so continue. And albeit these beastes bee neuer but sicke, yet wantinge reason, do playe and take disporte: But man to his owne sorowe is partaker of reason, whereof he calleth to consideration his miseryes. Met is it worthely to be noted, that seldom times wee

that seeldome tymes we see honest men troubled
with outwarde greues, and those that be tempe-
rate are not often offended with in ward miseries.
But some men do thyncke deafnes and blindnes ^{Blyndnes.}
more intollerable then Sicknes, though the same
seeme lyttle to hinder the felicity of man.

Homerus beinge blynde, excelled all the Poets
both Latyne and Greeke. *Tymolion* beinge blind,
gouerned the people of *Syracusa*. *Appius Claudius*
broke the dishonorable peace, whych the Romay-
nes had takē with *Pirrhys*, and therein declared he
sawe more then all others hauinge eyes. *Hannibal*
hauinge one only eye, conquered almost all Italy,
and excelled all captaynes both Carthaginēses &
Romaines (*Scipio* onely reserued). *Ihon* kinge of
Bœmia was also blind, yet a valiant and wise cap-
tayne. He knowinge him selfe ouermatched with
the power of hys enemyes, manfullye did charge
them, to the ende that if he could not get the vic-
tory, yet he woulde not be accompted cowardely.
One blynde man not long before our age, was so
cunninge in musicke as excelled all others in those
daies, and was therefore greatly esteemed, and by
Princes enriched. The blinde man hath also hys
delightes, as banquettinge, venerye, musicke, and
learning: and (if he were not so bozne) he is blind
but som part of his life. He may also see dreame,
and therefore *Aristoteles* saith, that the vertue of se-
inge resteth not in the eyes, but in the brayne, be-
cause if the sight were in the eye, then the eyes be-
ing put out, the man in dreame should see nothing,
as doeth he that was blinde bozne. But if man

The thyrde booke of

from his birth did neuer see, then hath he no cause
to complayne accordinge to the common sayinge.

That the eye seeth not, the hart reueth not.

For in that we knowe not, we neyther delight nor
find offence. All be it we see many things we take
pleasure in, yet of them that dooe discontente vs
the number is great.

On onely perfyte eye wee haue, which is the spy-
ryte, and that more liuely is in the blynde, then in
them that can see, by reason the out ward eyes is
thereunto a hynderaunce. For which reason wee
fynde that the blinde men, both in wit and memo-
ry excell all others. And as they say of *Tyresias*.

For God his face did hide, and sight, within the breast he set.

Meaninge that the blinde man did in mynde see
the most. And therefore in olde tyme lutch men
were honoured for propherynge things to come.
When *Antonius* the holy, comforted *Didimus* the
Philosopher, he sayde vnto him, let it suffice, that
thyl thou enioyest thy celestiall eyes, though the
other bee lost. *Diodorus* the Stoike a companion
to *Cicero* was blynde, yet in Philosophy, Musicke,
and Geometry, excellent.

Caius Drusus was so cunninge in the Lawes Ciuil
although he were hymselfe blynde, yet helped hee
many that could see. Some say *Democritus* for the
enuy his Cittizens did bear him, put out his own
eyes. *Asclepiades* the Philosopher in his blindness,
was wont to playe, sayinge the wante of syghte
was nothinge els but as though a chyld should

doe

dooe some thinge to an other whereby hee mighte finde a wante.

But a monge other commodities blindnes doth make death the moze tollerable. Because death is feared for nothings so much as that wee loose the comferte of lighte and come into darckenes, when if thou be blinde before, thou shalt feelee the lesse alteration, and that which tormenteth others mozte in dyinge, thou shalt as it were dye vnwares. Some perhappes there are so grosse as wyll discomende olde age, forgettinge that who so is now olde, hath beene in tymes past younge. But for triall hereof let *Sephalus* or *Spurinna* be called in question, of whom we may enquire, whether olde age not abused, be better then lustye youth. The vertue & strength of *Iacobus Philippus Sacchi* whom *Franciscus Sforza* did chole to be pryncie of the *Se-*
nate doth sufficiently lye we.

Blindnes maketh death more tollerable.

Wherefore sith in all these Calamities aforesayd nothinge is euill, let vs consider whether in common miseries we ought to lament: as in plagues, famine, and destruction of countreyes, which because they are common, do seeme the moze patiently to bee suffered. But if they were euill, woulde be of all other mozte intollerable, because they are most hardely amended. We see therefore that the discontentation of men, groweth rather vppon opinion then cause. And seeinge it is vniuersall, let vs followe the golden age, in whych tyme was moze fidelitie, moze frendly conuersacion, moze easly lyfe, y men better minded, and their maners the lesse corrupte, that their fortune was

Common Calamities.

so

The thirde booke of

Enuy and not
necessity doth
offend mens
myndes,

so euill. In that age they lyued only vpon fruite,
if they had gotten bread, they accompted themsel-
ues happy but thou that wantest neither breade,
wyne, bedde nor other prouision, doest not with-
standinge complayne. It is enuy therefore, no plea-
sure, superfluity, no necessity that doth torment vs.
For if our desires were reasonable, wee should at
all times haue lyke wishes. And knowinge wyth
howe fewe base thinges nature is contented, we
should not find so infortunat ende of our doinges.
But seinge in that miserable time men liued so cō-
tented, thys cannot be sayde any miserye at all.

For he is onely in miserye, that is enforced to hate
his owne life, yet in cōmon calamities no man ha-
teth his owne life but most patiently beareth all
aduersities. For nothinge seemeth dishonoura-
ble, that is common. Euery euill of mannes life
doeth consiste in reproche, death excepte: And e-
uery thyng that is good, in gloyre. The reason
thereof is, that (as at the beginninge I sayd) be-
rye good or euil was not to be found among mor-
tall men. But to return to the purpose, our coun-
trei perissheth, and therein our frendes, kined, re-
putacion and substance. I graunt, but doest thou
accompt those only thy neighboures that inhabite
thy cōuntry? Surely we are al discēded of one line,
and if we loke backe to our grandfathers & great
great grandfathers, our affinitye is much. It is
good maners & getteth frends, & vertue & wineth
reputation, which if thou want, it is not reputati-
on but rather ambicion and crafte. In pouertye
thou haste manye Companions, so as for thyne
errour

erroz thou nede not be ashamed, for want of company thou cannot be weary. And in pouerty as erst I sayde, there are many wayes to reliefe: as hospitalles, kinnsfolke, charitable persons, & al good men. Also the vniuersality of the misery taketh away al reproch. And though many through slouth and lothenes to labour, do fall into beggery, yet a mynde industrious and armed with vertue, is sel- dome subiect thereunto. All be it the hole cittye of *Syracusa* was taken, spoyled and sacked, yet *Marcellus* preserved *Archimedes*. Also whē *Megara* was taken by *Ptolomeus*, & after by *Demetrius* son of *Antiochus*, yet *Stilpho* & *Philosopher* was saued, and at the kynges handes receyued both honour, & rewarde, for the one delyzed his company, the other became his scholer. When *Rhodus* was besieged by *Demetrius*, *Protogenes* the painter, being found in & suburges, was by him honoured, though the other cittizens remayned scant in surety. Vertue is alwayes accompanied with *Nemesis*, who suffereth none to beg, sauing men from cōmon calamities. *Socrates* remayned in *Athens* healthy, whē & plage was there at the greatest. *Crates* escaped harme at the saccage of *Thebes*. A man of greate vertue ought not to hazarde himself in cominon calamities. Now remayneth it onely somwhat to say of many miseries assembled to gethers. And as *Dio- genes* sayd, I am he vpon whom all misfortune is cast: no house I haue, no towne, in exile, a vagabond, and begger. Yet to counteruayle all these miseries, he thought the vertue of minde, of force enough. If therefore being olde, thou art sicke, poze, and

An industrious mynde seldom subiect to beggery.

Vertue is euer accompanied with *Nemesis*.

Calamities assembled.

The thirde booke of

One misfety
remoueth ano-
ther.

No man is all
his lyfe in misfe-
ry.

and banished: whether doth y^e encrease oz deuide
thy miseries? Calamities are not accoꝝding to the
number, but the greatnes to be measured. It co-
meth to passe in these as it doth in greifes of y^e bo-
dy, one Calamitye driueth an other awaye. Erile
taketh awaye the dishonoꝝ of misery, when thou li-
uest amōg people vnknownen. And as erst I sayd
there is no thinge (saue death) that a man despyeth
moze to eschew. Whether had thou rather be *Phi-
lota* when he was persecuted of *Alexander*, hauing
youth, beauty, strength, great byrth, & ryches, then
in seruitude, sicke, and in thine olde estate? Cruely
the condicion of man is like vnto a garment whi-
che the moze rich & beautifull it be, the moze a spot
doth disgrace it, and the lesse beauty it hath, y^e lesse
hurt the garment thereby receiueth. It is also to
be considered that no man is all his life in miserie
foꝝ sleape causeth forgetfulnes of sorow, and is as
pleasant to men in sorow, as to those that be most
happy. Also the delights of our senses be to al men
almost a like cōmon, as tast, venery, sight, hearing,
and smellinge. So all things that be delectable to
man, do not togethers decay. If therfoze at one in-
stant all mortall men did sleape, then foꝝ that time
none shoulde be moze happy then other. But wee
are most assured not onely to sleape, but also dye:
and as long to liue we cannot, so how far we are
from death is to vs vnknownen. Whetherfoze to bear
euery thinge resolutely, is not onely the parte of a
wise man, but also of a man well aduised, seinge y^e
there is nothing in this life, that may iustly be said
to be against vs. Therefore *Homerus* sayned *Aten*
the

the Goddess of *Calamity*, to be barefooted, as one that could not touch any thing sharpe or hard, but walked lightly vpon the heades of mortall men, Aten Goddess of Calamity. Meaninge that Calamity durst not come nere anye, but such as were of base minde, simple, & subiect to effemenacy. But among such as were valiant and armed with vertue, she durst not come. Wherefore lift vp thy mind to heauen where an euerlastinge and most pleasante life is prepared for thee. When in this world are like *Beanes*, some slender, some greate, some flourishing, some bearinge fruit, some witherig, some growing, some blowē downe, and some fruitfull, which in one harvest time are brought together and laide vpon one stacke. Neither is there afterwards sene any difference among them, what they be or haue bene, al at one time be cut downe neuer more to growe againe. Euen so all pride, ambition, ryches, aucthority, children, frendes, and glozy doe in short space grow olde and perishe, neither doth it make matter whether thou were *Irus* or vile *Galba*, *Antaxerxes* or noble *Hercules*. Onely honesty and vertue of minde doth make a man happy, and onely a cowardly and corrupt conscience, do cause thine unhappines. Because the worst that the good man can feare, is the best that the euill can wishe for: whiche is the destruction of the Soule in death. But as he ought not to hope thereof, so should not y other feare it. For God the eternall father hath sent vs into this worlde as children and heyes of hys kingdome, and secretly beholdeth how wee fighte and defend our selues, against our senses, y world
and

Only vertue
doeth make
man happy.

The thirde booke of

and the Deuyll. And who so in this battell, valy-
antly fryghteth, shall be called and placed, amonge
the Princes of heauenly Kingedome. And who so
slouthfull ye or cowerdlye behaueth himselfe, as a
flaue in fetters, shall for euermore be bonde.

This worldly stage was purposely prepared, that
God the father might secretly beholde vs. Such
foolish children then, as in his sight wantonlye,
slouthfully, and sediciously, lyue, shoulde they not
thincke he doth beholde them? Whensoever there
fore thou haste taken that laste leaue of Lyfe, thy
soule like vnto a louer embracing hys loue, shall
enioye that sweetenes and security, which we can
neither wyte of, nor conceiue. For sith these world
ly louers (amongest whom be many mislykinges
without assurance or eternitey) can scarcely expresse
their ioyes in loue: Happy, yea thys happy is thys
heauenly louer, who forgettunge all others, wyth
his owne loue is vnited. For within this kingdome
he loueth and lyueth in the sight of him, that can
do all thynges, and therefore lyke a good
sonne to his father is euer ready to
do his pleasure.

FINIS.



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